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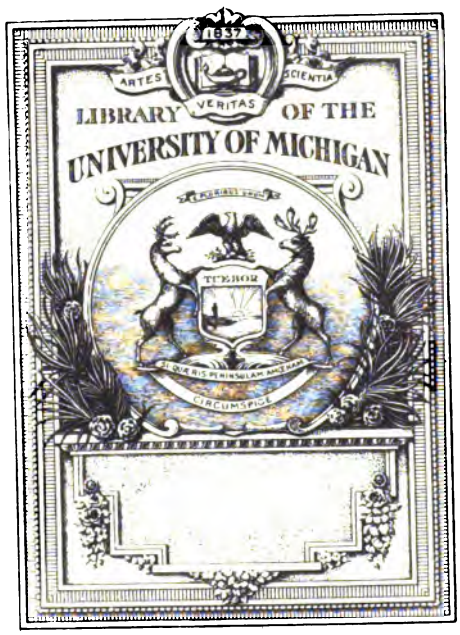
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Missouri Historical Review

VOLUME XIII
OCTOBER, 1918—JULY, 1919

PUBLISHED BY
THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF MISSOURI

FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER,
SECRETARY, EDITOR
COLUMBIA, MISSOURI

1919

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THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

Subscription Price $1.00 a Year

The *Missouri Historical Review* is a quarterly magazine devoted to Missouri history, genealogy and literature. It is now being sent to eleven hundred members of the Society. The subscription price is one dollar a year.

Each number of the *Review* contains several articles on Missouri and Missourians. These articles are the result of research work in Missouri history. The style of presentation is as popular as is permissible in a publication of this character.

Missourians are interested in their State Historical Society. The *Review* appeals to this interest by summarizing the recent activities of the Society. It also does this of other state-wide organizations of a historical or patriotic character. Important historical happenings are also chronicled and members of the Society are urged to make this complete for their section of Missouri. The general Missouri items include biographical sketches of individuals in public life or of historic fame.

Manuscripts and letters on all Missouri subjects of a historical or biographical nature are welcome, and will be read and decided upon with as little delay as possible.

Eleven volumes of the *Review* have been published. A few complete sets are still obtainable from the Society—Vols. 1-11, bound in best library buckram, $37.50; unbound, $22.00. Separate volumes, unbound, except Vol. 1, as follows: Vols. 2, 3 and 6, each $3.00; Vols. 4 and 5, each $2.00; Vols. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12, each $1.00. Prices of reprints of most important articles given on request.

All editorial and business communications should be addressed to Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary, The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

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THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XIII, No. 1 COLUMBIA OCTOBER, 1918

MISSOURI AND THE WAR.

FIFTH ARTICLE.

FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER.

Hardship will be your lot, but trust in God will give you comfort. Temptation will befall you, but the teaching of our Savior will give you strength. Let your valor as a soldier and your conduct as a man be an inspiration to your comrades and an honor to your country.

—General John J. Pershing.

Hanging on the wall of each Y. M. C. A. hut in France are these words together with a picture of General Pershing. Beneath the words is the General's signature. Never in history was an army so well protected and guarded against the evils of army life as are the American boys in France. All voluntary organizations whose purpose is to uplift and help, receive every support and encouragement. To return the boys home as clean as they left the family fireside, is the aim of the American staff. It is a matter of principle and policy. Moral and material well-being are equally safeguarded. Chaplin James Small, of Kansas City, writes in part of his impressions along this line:

"I am glad to say that Gen. John J. Pershing stands in colossal grandeur as an exponent of American principles with all the chaplains of the whole army, not only because of his superb manhood, but because of the wise orders he has given in regard to vice in every phase. He has set his face like

flint against impurity among men and officers. If men do commit folly he is seeing to it that they pay the price with the shame of publicity and a court-martial as well. He has indeed the wisdom of the statesman and the love of a mother for the boys, combined."

With such a leader, little wonder is it that the American soldiers idolize him, that American officials trust him, and the American Nation loves him and places every confidence in him. His ability as a fighter is known, his genius for organization and system has been proven, and this Nation is confidently waiting the verdict when his ability as a general in charge of an army of a million and a half brave American men is put to the test.

This war has framed two generalizations which the greatest military leaders of both Germany and the Allies accept. One is the emphasis placed on the value of the offensive; the other, the still greater value of an army's morale. This difference is noted, however, between the means employed by the foe to strengthen morale and by the Americans. The former use the lure of plunder and license, and arouse to white heat the passion for blood and destruction. The latter strengthen the mind by appeals for the abstract, love of fellowmen, democracy of man, restraint of passion, check on desire, clean living and thinking. History reveals military leaders and armies of the latter type as well as of the former. There is something fascinating in the peculiar doggedness of purpose that sustains the army led by a clean man. There is recalled the great Gustavus II. Adolphus with his victorious army of Protestant Swedes, and Cromwell with his invincible, fighting, psalm-singing force of "Roundheads." Next, the immortal, praying Washington, with his poorly clad, half-starved, force of "Continentals." Again, the God-fearing and dauntless Stonewall Jackson with his boys of the South. May history place higher than these, the clean, moral American boys under Pershing!

Little wonder is it that a man of such ideals should be held in the high regard and esteem that Pershing is held in Missouri. Twice has he been signally honored by his native

state during the last two months. On both occasions the Chief Executive of Missouri, Governor Frederick D. Gardner, gave official sanction to the commemoration. First in Laclede, Missouri, on July the Fourth, gathered thousands of citizens of Missouri to honor this man. The boyhood home of the great American general today vies in honors with Hannibal, the boyhood home of the great American humorist, in having produced a world character.

Again, the State of Missouri gave the name "Pershing Day" to August 28th, on which her citizens were urged to put Missouri "over the top" in her War Savings Stamp quota. But Missouri is also proud of those who have lately cast renown on their state. Many have been appointed to important positions in this country and abroad, many more have received the highest honors on the field of war, and still more have had their names added to "Missouri's Roll of Honor."

MISSOURIANS IN IMPORTANT WAR POSITIONS.

Capt. Ludwick Graves, of the Quartermaster corps, formerly of Kansas City, has been assigned to the general staff of the Army in France. Captain Graves is the son of Judge W. W. Graves of the Missouri Supreme Court. He entered the Missouri National Guard when eighteen years old.

Two native Missourians have been promoted to the rank of brigadier-general—Edward H. DeArmond and William J. Glasgow. General DeArmond was born in Missouri in 1878, and General Glasgow, in 1866. General Geo. W. Burr, who was born in Illinois but who received his appointment to West Point from Missouri in 1884, was also raised to this rank.

One of the most signal honors has been conferred on a St. Louis lady, Miss Julia C. Stimson. Miss Stimson was chosen in June to head the Red Cross nurses in France. She has no control over the military nurses, but directs those serving the civilian population of France. Miss Stimson has made a wonderful record. She has been mentioned in dispatches by General Haig and has been decorated by the

French government. She will have thousands of nurses under her control.

Frederick N. Judson, the eminent lawyer and authority on taxation, of St. Louis, accepted a commission on the War Labor Board, during vacation. He served as a substitute for former President William H. Taft. Frank P. Walsh, of Kansas City, and Mr. Taft constitute the joint chairmanship of the committee. Taft represents the employers and Walsh the laborers.

Edwin S. Puller, a lawyer of St. Louis, has been appointed Chief of the Foreign Permits Office in the Department of State. This is a new division controlling the issuance of passports to aliens. Puller has practiced law for twenty years and is the author of books on adolescent paychology and boy training.

One of the most important naval positions in Washington is that of Chief of the Bureau of Navigation. It requires a big man to fill this position. When the United States entered the war the Navy Department looked carefully over the men available, and finally selected Commander Leigh Carlyle Palmer, of St. Louis. The position carries with it the rank of rear-admiral. Altho Rear-Admiral Palmer is not a native of Missouri, having been born in Cincinnati, January 11, 1873, he was only three months old when his parents removed to St. Louis. He was reared and received his education in St. Louis, and was later appointed to Annapolis. In the Spanish-American War he drew lots with Hobson when it was decided to sink the Merrimac at Santiago Harbor. He has continued to rise, and ranked as a commander on his appointment to his new position. As Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, his duties are many and important. One of the most important problems that he has solved was increasing the personnel of the navy from 56,000 to 300,000 to meet last year's increase of commissioned war vessels from 176 to 1345. He is the "Crowder" of the United States Navy, and he has been as successful as his brother Missourian from Trenton—a high tribute to pay any man.

Cecil D. Gregg of St. Louis, has been appointed to an important executive position at Washington in connection with the manufacture, output and forwarding of ordnance.

Frederick L. Dickey, general manager of the W. S. Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company of Kansas City, has been elected Chairman of the Fourteenth Regional Zone of the Resources and Conversion Section of the War Industries Board. The members of the Executive Committee of the Zone for Missouri are: J. J. Cole, of Nevada; John D. Moore, of Rich Hill; L. T. LeBow, of Joplin; J. W. Lehr, and T. W. Dodd, of St. Joseph; F. D. Crabbs, J. M. Guild, H. J. Perkins, Solomon Stoddard and F. L. Dickey, of Kansas City. The Zone includes Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska and Oklahoma.

Jackson Johnson, president of the Kansas City Chamber of Commerce, has been named a regional representative of the War Industries Board with headquarters at St. Louis.

Lieut. Col. Kenneth P. Williams, of Kansas City, has been appointed depot quartermaster of the Eighth Army Purchasing Zone, composed of Arkansas, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma, Tennessee and part of Illinois.

The Ordnance Department announced in August the establishment of a new production district in the United States, to be known as the St. Louis production district. Its headquarters will be at St. Louis, and M. E. Singleton, of St. Louis, has been named ordnance district chief. The district will include the states of Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, part of Illinois, Kansas, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Oregon, Texas, Utah, Washington and Wyoming. The Civilian Personnel Bureau, established in St. Louis in the spring under the direction of Theron Catlin to obtain civilian labor for munitions work, will be consolidated with the new St. Louis Production District. The Director will have complete charge of the financing, inspection, transportation and personnel of the munitions industries in his district.

Dr. A. Ross Hill, of Columbia, president of the University of Missouri, has been appointed regional educational director of Colorado, Illinois, Kansas and Missouri.

WAR HONORS AND HEROISM.

The following Missouri boys were mentioned in dispatches received during June, July and August as having received military medals and honors for bravery and distinguished services:

Brooks, Pvt. George C., of Rich Hill, awarded Croix De Guerre, wounded, stuck to post.

Cloud, John Keble, of St. Louis, Red Cross ambulance driver, awarded Italian War Cross, excellent conduct on Mont Grappa, Northern Italy, twenty-two years old. Wrote father: "The hotter it gets, the more we enjoy it."

Dagg, Lieut. George R., of Kansas City, medical corps, Croix De Guerre, cited in report of a brigadier-general in the French Army, heroism in battle near Montididier.

Elsea, Sergt. Albert Earl, of Lamar, Distinguished Service Cross, promoted to second lieutenant, wounded and blinded directed machine gun section for two hours in raid on German trenches in the Vosges, July 6. Member of B. Company, 129th Machine Gun Battalion, brigaded with the 138th (St. Louis) infantry. Is twenty-four years old. Paid way thru school working as bell boy in Joplin. Wrote mother from hospital: "No one in the United States realizes what a wonderful work the Red Cross is doing in France."

Flanigan, Pvt. F. M., of St. Louis, British Military Medal, member Twelfth Engineers, a St. Louis Regiment.

Fleming, Pvt. Patrick F., of St. Louis, Distinguished Service Cross, cited by General Pershing as follows: "He bravely attempted to pick up and throw away, near Oderon, Alsace, on July 12, a live grenade that had fallen among five soldiers, but because of irregularities of the trench he could not reach it before it burst. He thrust his foot on it, thereby saving his companions from death or injury, but causing wounds that necessitated amputation of the foot." Member of M. Company, First Regiment 138th Infantry, twenty-seven years old. Has three brothers and a sister in service.

Fraher, Pvt. J. B., of St. Louis, British Military Medal, member of Twelfth Engineers, a St. Louis regiment.

Gerrick, Pvt. Edward E., of Kansas City, Croix De Guerre, for bravery while placing electrical equipment in a listening-post in No Man's Land, was wounded but joined in a counter-attack on raiding party of Germans. Twenty-two years old, private in 116th Field Signal Battalion, 41st Division.

Goodrich, Pvt. Louis D., of Sedalia, Distinguished Service Cross, cited by General Pershing: "On June 9, 1918, voluntarily carried an important message from Lucy-Le-Bocage to Bouresches, in daylight, along an open road between the lines exposed to small arms fire." Twenty-one years old, in Engineer Corps.

Leahy, Lieut. Wm. H., of St. Louis, Croix De Guerre, led H. Company of 138th (St. Louis) Infantry in raid on German trenches in the Vosges, July 6. Recommended for a Captaincy. H. Company received the congratulations of Marshal Joffre and of the French General commanding the French Thirty-third Army Corps, and of the French and American brigade commanders. H Company is composed of the old First and Fifth Missouri Regiments of St. Louis. The "Fifth" was christened the "Joffre Regiment" in the summer of 1917, when during the visit of the French Marshal, he presented it with a regimental flag. Joffre has also sent gifts of about twenty pipes to Lieutenant Leahy and members of H. Company, stating that he is "Proud of his godchildren."

Libby, Capt. Frederick, of St. Joseph, Distinguished Service Order, Military Cross at the hands of the King of England, former commander of a British Flying Squadron. "A Missouri Ace," who has fought more than a hundred battles in the air, and has brought down twenty-two German airplanes.

McFarland, Jr., Capt. H. F., of St. Louis, British Military Medal, member of Twelfth Engineers, a St. Louis regiment.

Mahan, Corpl. Frank Alten, of St. Louis, Croix De Guerre, for unusual bravery and coolness while under fire for

thirty days on the French front. Attached to the 598th U. S. Army Ambulance unit.

Miller, Pvt. Hugh S., of St. Louis, Distinguished Service Cross: "In the Bois de Belleau, on June 6, 1918, he captured, single-handed, two of the enemy. Altho in a weakened condition, he continued to perform his duty thru the engagement."

Moore, Corpl. Clayton H., of St. Louis, Distinguished Service Cross. Member of the regimental band of the 138th Infantry. In raid of H. Company on July 6th, served as stretcher bearer.

Patton, Sergt. R. A., of St. Louis, British Military Medal, member of Twelfth Engineers, a St. Louis regiment.

Pershing, Gen. John J., Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor by the French Government, "in organizing so promptly and efficiently the American forces in France."

Philip, Miss Tina, of Kansas City, Royal Red Cross Decoration by King George, in July, 1918.

Quick, Sergt.-Maj. John H., of St. Louis, Distinguished Service Cross, June 6th, Chateau-Thierry. Marine Corps. Won Congressional Medal of Honor at Guantanamo in Spanish-American War.

Renick, Fred A., of St. Louis, French Medal Militaire, highest soldierly honor awarded by the French Government, for bravery in the United States Army Ambulance Service. Right arm amputated, skull and one shoulder fractured, April 4.

Rice, Lieut. Carl C., of Springfield (enlisted at Rolla), Distinguished Service Cross, command of machine gun section on June 6 near Chateau-Thierry; wounded but refused to quit line. Led men until he fell exhausted. Twenty-three years old.

Rucker, Jr., Lieut. E. W., of Fayette, Distinguished Service Cross, brought down at least one German airplane. Twenty-three years old.

Schwab, Sergt. Vincent M., of St. Louis, Distinguished Service Cross, extraordinary heroism at Chateau-Thierry, June 6. Killed in action. Marine Corps.

Sellers, Lieut. McBrayer, of Lexington, Distinguished

Service Cross, bravery and self-sacrifice at Chateau-Thierry, June 6. Carried messages until severely wounded and refused medical aid until last message had been delivered by him personally. Marine Corps.

Skelly, Capt. J. W., of St. Louis, British Military Medal, member of Twelfth Engineers, a St. Louis regiment.

Tilghman, Corpl. Benjamin, of St. Louis, Distinguished Service Cross, for gallantry in action at Bois de Belleau, June 6. Marine Corps. Twenty-seven years old.

Weld, Joseph G., of St. Louis, Croix De Guerre, for devotion and bravery as ambulance driver on April 17, 1918. American Sanitary Section, wounded twice. Twenty-one years old.

The following Missourians have also been specially cited for bravery in official reports, some of whom may have received military medals or crosses:

Brien, Clarence V., of St. Louis, ambulance corps.

Brown, Stephen R., of St. Louis, Y. M. C. A. secretary.

Cantwell, Pvt. Frank H., of St. Louis county, platoon runner.

Childress, Paul, of Buffalo, on "Florence H" when blown up.

Ford, Corpl. Frank J., of Kansas City, Gold Service Chevron for six months active service, 117th Ammunition Train.

Franz, Pvt. Henry C., of St. Louis, cited for gallantry.

Grode, Sergt. Martin, of St. Louis, bravery at Bois de Belleau.

Hanson, Arvid H., of St. Louis, Marine Corps.

Jenni, Clarence M., of Festus, Marine Corps.

Lamberton, Roy F., of St. Louis, on "Florence H."

McPherson, Pvt. Lewis, of St. Louis, Marine Corps.

Morris, Paul E., of St. Louis, on "Florence H."

Nye, Corpl. Frank W., of Garland, bravery at Bois de Belleau.

Poppen, Corpl. Alvin W., of St. Louis, Marine Corps.

Pottinger, Hiram B., of St. Louis, Marine Corps.

Sullens, Ray E., of Hillsboro, Marine Corps.

Wade, Jr., Sergt. Festus J., of St. Louis, Field Artillery.
Wells, Evan P., of Bonne Terre, Marine Corps.

MISSOURI'S ROLL OF HONOR.

(Compiled from the Official Bulletin and Missouri newspapers issued during June, July and August, 1918.)

Missouri's casualty list of those in service at home and abroad totaled 593 up to September 1st, of which 107 were reported in former issues of the *Review*. This issue contains the names of 115 killed in action in France, 41 who died of wounds in France, 32 who died of disease in France, 7 who died of accident, etc., in France, 24 missing in action in France, 2 prisoners in Germany, 224 wounded in France, 30 who died in camps and hospitals in the United States, 9 killed or wounded at sea, and 2 unclassified wounded.

The following Missourians have been killed in action in France:

Agee, Sergt. George Taylor, Kansas City.
Arnette, Sergt. Thomas P., St. Louis, marine.

Bannon, Pvt. Frank L., St. Louis.
Beard, Pvt. Clifford A., St. Louis.
Becker, Pvt. Clarence H., Kansas City.
Bell, Pvt. Harry H., Kahoka.
Black, Pvt. Simon F., Union.
Blahovec, Vincent J., St. Louis.
Bond, Pvt. Gilbert, Caralon.
Bonnett, Pvt. David E., Milan.
Boone, Lieut. Ewing, Kansas City.
Brown, Charles O., Poplar Bluff.
Burke, Corpl. Thomas E., St. Louis.
Burkett, Pvt. James A., Rombauer.
Burton, William R., Kansas City.

Campbell, Cortez M., Kansas City.
Campbell, Pvt. Earl Harrison, Poplar Bluff.
Canary, Theophilus, St. Louis.
Casner, Corpl. Earl P., Carthage, marine.
Caw, Clarence Henry, St. Joseph.
Chanslor, Pvt. Earl D., Kansas City.
Chastain, Pvt. Claude L., Koshkonong.

Cole, Pvt. Cecil R., Greenville.
Colley, Milford R., Waynesville, marine.
Collins, Pvt. Asa L., Kansas City.
Costlow, Corpl. William B., Springfield.
Crane, Pvt. Charles Divers, Martinsburg.
Crane, Lieut. Victor O., St. Louis.

Dawe, Walter, St. Louis.
Dougherty, James D., St. Louis.
Duncan, Capt. Donald, St. Joseph.
Dunn, Bugler, Jiles E., Cooter.
Dvorak, George, St. Louis.

Eason, Pvt. Paul, Queen City.
Embry, Pvt. Sidney, Cooper county.
Evans, M. C., St. Louis (Canadian army).

Finney, Pvt. Emmert O., Shelbina, marine.
Flaherty, Corpl. William J., St. Louis, marine.

Goldman, Lieut. Jerome L., St. Louis, marine.
Gonnerman, Pvt. Pearl Edward, Hurdland.
Grant, Theodore C., St. Louis, marine.
Graham, Capt. Robert M., Mineola.
Grooms, Pvt. Robert, Rushville.

Hagen, Harvey J., St. Louis.
Hansford, Pvt. Morie, Blackwell.
Hartnett, Bugler John K., Preston.
Hartwell, Pvt. Chester A., Farewell.
Hash, Pvt. John H., Elwood.
Hatfield, Pvt. Benjamin Baxter, Independence.
Hepp, George A., Oronogo.

Jackson, Claude C., Kansas City.
Johanningmeier, Sergt. Ollie Henry, St. Louis, marine.
Johnson, Lewis Wood, Springfield, marine.
Johnson, Corpl. Louis W., Mongrove.
Jones, Mechanic Herbert L., Springfield.
Karis, Sergt. Ray M., Jasper.
Kirby, Charles F., Wappapello.
Krohn, Edward M., St. Louis, marine.

Lindsey, Pvt. Sam G., Kansas City.
Long, Pvt. Henry J., Clarkton.
Lovell, Pvt. John C., Norborne.
Lusher, Sergt. Eudell Miller, Kansas City.

McCleary, Charles E., St. Louis.
McDaniel, Pvt. Charles, Bagnell.
McGartland, Clarence F., Monroe City.
McGrath, Corpl. Daniel P., Kansas City.
McKinley, Pvt. Wm. T., St. Joseph.
McLin, Pvt. Edward H., Canton.
Mabry, Sergt. Raymond M., Poplar Bluff.
Marcus, Carl E., Tyrone.
May, Walter Adolph, St. Louis, marine.
Meltner, Pvt. August C., St. Louis.
Michael, Frank J., St. Louis.
Montgall, Capt. Rufus F., Kansas City.
Moore, Pvt. Novie L., Forest Green.
Moreland, Corpl. Claude D., Marshall.
Moriarty, Pvt. Tim., St. Louis.
Mottingly, Randall A., Cape Girardeau.
Mueller, Pvt. Max William, Washington.
Murray, L. R., Kansas City (Canadian army).
Mushback, Pvt. Carl F., Liberty.
Myers, Claud H., Browning.

Pahlam, Pvt. Claud, Jerico Springs.
Pennewill, Harold Owen, St. Joseph.
Peters, Pvt. Charles F., Browning.
Rawlings, Robert R., St. Louis.
Reader, Pvt. Arnold M., New Cambria.
Rizos, Corpl. William, St. Louis.
Robison, Pvt. Albion E., Macon.
Roy, Lieut. Charles H., Jamesport, marine.

Saunders, John E., St. Louis.
Seymour, Pvt. John D., St. Louis.
Schmidt, Pvt. Herman A., St. Louis.
Schwab, Sergt. Vincent M., St. Louis.
Sherwood, Joseph Marshall, Kahoka.
Shoemaker, Pvt. John W., Tyrone.
Silkwood, Pvt. Quinton I., Gatewood.
Simpson, Pvt. James Y., Kansas City, marine.
Slase, Pvt. Edward H., Mexico.
Stephen, Corpl. Robert A., St. Louis, marine.
Stone, Pvt. George B., St. Joseph (or Liberty).
Swearingen, Pvt. Hewitt J., Kansas City.
Swenson, Walter E., St. Louis, marine.

Thompson, Pvt. Edgar, Kirksville.
Trent, Pvt. John W., Stockton.
Tucker, Pvt. Elmer, Kennett.

Vassar, Pvt. Oliver Guy, Universiy City.
Vinson, Pvt. Sassel, St. Louis.
Venneman, Pvt. Harry J., New Cambria.

Walker, Clarence M., Salem.
Weatherill, George T., Fayette.
Wendell, Edward H., Brule, marine.
Wiecher, Sergt. Henry William, St. Louis.
Williams, Pvt. Earl B., Wentzville.
Wright, Pvt. Benjamin C., Sedalia.

The following Missourians have died of wounds in France:

Adams, Pvt. David H., Lees Summit.
Arnold, Lieut. James P., Butler.

Banta, Loren D., Kansas City.
Beckerle, Pvt. Louis F., St. Louis.
Bemusdaffer, Claud C., St. Louis.
Bilsbarrow, Lieut. George A., Maplewood.
Bush, Corpl. Joseph E., Fairplay.
Bybee, Samuel Evertt, Edwards.
Charboneau, Pvt. Elmer, Webb City.

Clark, William A., St. Louis, marine.
Coston, Pvt. Earl M., Billings.

Davis, Sergt. Charles F., Bonne Terre.
DePriest, Carroll, Caruthersville.

Filley, Lieut John D., St. Louis.

Garrett, Corpl. Earl, Windsor.
Gill, Pvt. Floyd W., Mokane.
Gray, Corpl. Edward E., St. Louis.
Grob, Elmer John, Leslie.

Haddox, Pvt. John, Canaan.
Hanagan, William B., Conception Junction.
Hanson, Pvt. Arthur, Webb City.
Halblaub, Pvt. Steve, St. Louis, marine.
Harvey, Ira E., Rushville.
Hite, Pvt. Edward W., St. Louis.
Hummelsheim, Pvt. Herbert R., St. Louis, marine.

Langley, Pvt. Harry, Poplar Bluff.
Louden, Sergt. Newton, Humansville.

McAllister, Lieut. Arthur T., Boonville.
McCleary, Pvt. Charles E., St. Louis (Or killed in action?)
Mansfield, Gabe, Poplar Bluff.
Munday, Pvt. Leonidus S., Holden.

Nowak, Corpl. Peter, St. Louis, marine.

Parg, A. A., St. Louis (Or killed in action?)
Peoppelmier, Pvt. Reinhard F., Gerald.

Scharnell, Peter, St. Louis.
Shae, Pvt. Frank W., North Fryeburg.
Skelton, Pvt. James K., Hatfield.
Stockham, Sergt. Frank W., St. Louis, marine.
Stockley, Leslie L., Ellington.

Taggart, Pvt. Mayo E., Snyder.

Wasson, Lieut. Lowell T., Springfield.

The following Missourians have died of disease in France:

Arnold, Cook John H., Doniphan.

Baker, James T., Novinger.
Bragg, Pvt. Harley W., Cedar Gap.
Bryner, Pvt. Barney, St. Louis.
Caldwell, Pvt. Albert L., Couch.
Clark, Pvt. Claude Drew, Greenfield.
Cooper, Pvt. John S., Cassville.
Crist, Pvt. Angelo Jim, Columbia.
Curnutt, Corpl. Adolph, Sedalia.

Douglass, Corpl. Earl J., Clinton.

Foust, Pvt. Noah M., Linn Creek.

Hardin, Pvt. Roy W., Craig.
Hill, Pvt. Henry A., Cowgill.
Hill, William, Rocheport.

Johnson, Ben, Kansas City.
Keith, Sergt. Henry P., Filliam (Gilliam?)
Kuhnel, Corpl. Paul, Seymour.

Litton, Pvt. Patrick Daniel, Potosi.

Milford, Cook Scott, Sumner.

Niel, Pvt. David W., Apex.

Parrett, Pvt. James, Elmer.
Price, Thomas A., Nevada.

Rudolph, Pvt. Edward Wallington, Carthage.
Sampson, Corpl. Harold Agnew, Richmond.
Sherrard, Edward, Brunswick.
Simpson, Robert M., Kansas City.
Teachenor, Pvt. Fred., Shelbina.
Watts, Pvt. William O., Elsberry.
Williams, Wallace R., Joplin.
Wilson, Pvt. John, Hannibal.
Woodward, Earl, St. Louis, seaman in aviation service of navy.

Zeimerscheide, Argie, Mora.

The following Missourians have died of "accident or other causes" in France:

Bridges, Pvt. Thomas W., Malden.

Donnohue, Lieut. John J., Appleton City.

Ellett, Capt. Alexander M., Chillicothe,

Gardner, Pvt. Earl, St. Charles.

Payson, Pvt. Herbert P., Kansas City.
Purvis, Pvt. Monte, Sumner.

Whitten, Pvt. Jack, Carterville.

The following Missourians have been reported "missing in action" in France.

Bell, Pvt. Cassel I., Kahoka.
Boggs, Pvt. Lauron, Gilliam.

Carter, Pvt. Gilbert L., Elmer.
Carter, Pvt. Omar R., Elmer.
Colvin, Arthur G., St. Louis.
Connelley, Lieut. Francis J., St. Louis.

Dennison, Samuel Furnston, St. Louis.

Fischer, Pvt. William R., Jefferson City.
Goad, Lieut. J. M., Springfield.
Granberg, Pvt. Edward, St. Louis.
Grover, Corpl. John D., Lovell.

Harrah, William H., Kansas City.
Howard, Pvt. James B., St. Lous.

Lenz., William L., Gilliam.

Medaris, James A., Louisiana.
Menten, Pvt. Joseph P., Flinthill.

Nolan, Pvt. Wm. T., Jr., St. Louis.

O'Connel, Daniel J., Ranger.

Puricelli, Pvt. Louis, St. Louis.
Scobee, Everett, Rutledge.

Taylor, Pvt. Eddie Clyde, Middletown.

Van Osterloo, Pvt. Henry, Independence.

Watson, Pvt. George N., Kansas City.
Woods, George Connie, Dearborn.

The following Missourians have been reported as "prisoners of war" in Germany:

Myers, Pvt. Elmer C., Labelle.
Sewing, Capt. A. H., St. Louis (Camp Rastatt, Germany).

The following Missourians have been reported wounded in action:

Abney, Fred R., Kennett, severely wounded.
Adams, William B., St. Louis.
Akers, Pvt. Homer J., Norwood, marine.
Amos, Corpl. Daniel, Nevada, severely wounded.
Arbuckle, Pvt. Ira O., Fulton.
Arnold, Lieut. James P., Butler, severely wounded.
Ayers, Pvt. Burl C., Bedford, marine.

Bailey, Pvt. Harry P., Princeton.
Barchus, Burras, Blackwell, severely wounded.

Barrett, Corpl. Winfield C., Poplar Bluff.
Bauer, Pvt. John, Webb City, severely wounded.
Beach, Paul A., Green Ridge, severely wounded.
Beall, Walter D., Eldorado Springs, severely wounded.
Benninger, Henry H., St. Louis, severely wounded.
Berry, Sergt. Frank, St. Louis, severely wounded.
Bilbarrow, Lieut. George A., Maplewood, severely wounded.
Blackwell, Pvt. Noah, Marshall, severely wounded.
Boggs, Lauren, Gilliam, severely wounded.
Boone, Pvt. Floyd J., Brunswick, severely wounded.
Boro, Pvt. John F., St. Louis.
Botts, Pvt. Joseph Henry, Hurdland, severely wounded.
Boyer, Pvt. Otis Lee, Kansas City, severely wounded.
Britton, Sergt. Paul H., Marshfield, severely wounded.
Brooks, George C., Rich Hill.
Brown, Pvt. Frank J., Jameson, severely wounded.
Brown, Corpl. Rolla O., Moberly, severely wounded.
Brown, Lieut. Lee, St. Louis, severely wounded.
Browning, Pvt. Porter, Monett, marine.
Bryson, Pvt. Harold E., St. Louis.
Bure, Pvt. Joseph F., Brinktown, severely wounded.
Burke, Pvt. William J., St. Louis, severely wounded.
Bushman, Sergt. Henry R., St. Louis, severely wounded.
Byington, Pvt. Roy F., St. Louis.

Carter, Sergt. George Andrew, St. Louis, severely wounded.
Carver, Hershel, Joplin, marine.
Cavanaugh, Pvt. James L., St. Louis.
Clark, Pvt. Chalmers, Oberlin.
Clayton, Pvt. John Richard, Kansas City, severely wounded.
Cloud, Sergt. Harmon, Kansas City, severely wounded.
Corridon, Pvt. Michael P., Kansas City, severely wounded.
Cox, Pvt. Adolph A., Parnell, severely wounded.
Crollay, Pvt. Charles A., St. James, severely wounded, marine.
Crowder, Pvt. Henry W., Koshkonong, severely wounded.
Cummins, Corpl. Raymond. W., Kearney, severely wounded.

Dace, Frederick Lawrence, Elvins, severely wounded.
Daugherty, Pvt. Robert L., Oran, severely wounded.
Davis, Sergt. Charles F., Bonne Terre, severely wounded.
Davis, Lieut. LeRoy V., Hopkins, severely wounded.
Dawson, Roy L., Butler.
Dick, Pvt. Ernest, Savannah, severely wounded.
Dierkes, Corpl. John T., St. Louis, severely wounded.
Dilport, Pvt. Henry W., St. Louis.

Dooley, Sergt. Rubben R., Hunnewell.
Dowd, Pvt. Robert A., St. Louis, severely wounded.
Dunn, Pvt. Grover C., Phillipsburg, severely wounded.

Eicholtz, Pvt. Orville O., Carterville, severely wounded.
Elkins, Pvt. Arthur, Dixon, severely wounded.
Ellis, Pvt. Joseph E., Cameron, severely wounded.
Elsea, Sergt. Albert Earl, Lamar.
Enghauser, Pvt. Leonard L., St. Louis, severely wounded, marine.
Evans, Pvt. Otto H., Meta, severely wounded.

Falvey, Corpl. William A., St. Louis, severely wounded.
Feldhus, Pvt. John F., St. Louis, severely wounded.
Filley, Lieut. John D., Jr., St. Louis.
Flanagan, William B., Conception Junction, severely wounded.
Fleming, Pvt. F., St. Louis.
Fleming, John, Kansas City, slightly wounded.
Flenger, Pvt. Joe A., St. Louis, severely wounded.
Forbes, James Lewis, Linn Creek, severely wounded.
Frankerstein, Pvt. Irwin W., St. Louis, marien.
Frillman, Florian L., St. Louis, severely wounded.

Gehring, Lieut. W. Ross, Mt. Vernon.
Gerrick, Edward E., Kansas City.
Gill, Sergt. Moss, Perry, severely wounded.
Gilliatt, Pvt. Earl E., St. Louis, severely wounded.
Ginder, Ronald A., Jameson, severely wounded.
Godbey, Lieut. Arnold B., St. Louis, marine.
Golighty, Sergt. Arthur, Charleston.
Goodrich, Pvt. Louis D., Sedalia, slightly wounded.
Gray, Corpl. Edward E., St. Louis, severely wounded.
Green, Pvt. John C., Shelbyville, severely wounded.
Grifford, Pvt. James, Minnith, severely wounded.
Grupe, Elmer, St. Louis.

Haney, Pvt. Charley L., Louisiana, marine.
Hartnett, Corpl. Bugler John K., Preston, severely wounded.
Haskins, Sergt. William W., Kansas City, severely wounded
Hawkins, Pvt. George, St. Louis, severely wounded.
Hayes, Pvt. Arthur H., Watson, severely wounded.
Hayes, Pvt. Daniel W., St. Louis, severely wounded, marine.
Hieserman, Pvt. Leon L., St. Louis, severely wounded, marine.
Henderson, Lieut. James Alexander, St. Louis (Bridgetown?) severely wounded.

Henneberger, Richard M., St. Louis, severely wounded, marine.
Henshaw, Pvt. Burton H., Wellston, severely wounded, marine.
Herbig, Paul R., St. Louis, slightly wounded, marine.
Hibdon, Claude L., Linn Creek, severely wounded.
Hiell, Pvt. Frank S., Kansas City, severely wounded.
Hogg, Lieut. Robert Vincent, Hannibal.
Hillon, Corpl. Ernest E., Milan, severely wounded.
Hopson, Corpl. Harry, St. Louis, severely wounded.
Howze, Sergt. James A., Webster Groves, severely wounded.
Hudson, Pvt. Delmar, Ponder.
Hummelsheim, H. R., St. Louis, marine.
Husbands, Mechanic Joseph, St. Louis, severely wounded.

Itschner, Pvt. Harry M., Bevier.

James, Pvt. William E., High Gate.

Jass, John Preston, St. Louis, severely wounded.
Johnson, Sergt. Homer, St. Louis, severely wounded.
Jones, Corpl. Clarence, St. Louis.
Jones, Pvt. Leslie F., Fredericktown, severely wounded.
Jones, Pvt. Roy D., St. Joseph.

Katherman, Pvt. Benjamin, H., St. Louis, severely wounded.
Kemmerling, Pvt. Edward B., St. Joseph.
Kenty, Pvt. John C., Madison.
King, Pvt. Charles W., Milan, severely wounded.
Kirsch, Pvt. Alfred F., Clayton.
Klemme, Pvt. Arnold W., Gerald, severely wounded.
Knopp, Pvt. Richard W., St. Louis, severely wounded.
Kriwanek, Sergt. Frank F., St. Louis, severely wounded.

Lavin, James, St. Louis, severely wounded.
Lee, Pvt. Roy R., Merwin.
Lending, Pvt. Theodore, St. Louis, severely wounded, marine.
Leonard, Oliver R., Unionville, severely wounded.
Lile, Roy E., Richmond Heights, St. Louis county, severely wounded, marine.
Lovvorn, Jesse R., St. Louis, severely wounded.
Luce, Lieut. Earle Parsons, Kansas City, severely wounded.

McBride, Lieut. James, Lexington, severely wounded.
McCarthy, Pvt. John L., St. Louis.
McKenzie, Pvt. Ralph Louis, Ash Grove.
McQueen, Capt. Joseph W., Carrollton.
Maloney, Pvt. Martin, St. Louis, marine.

Martin, Corpl. Luther M., LaPlata, severely wounded.
May, Pvt. George B., Queen City.
Mershon, Lieut. Vance, Buckner, severely wounded.
Meyer, Charles E., St. Louis, severely wounded.
Michael, Corpl. Garrie Eugene, Kansas City, severely wounded.
Miller, Pvt. George D., Henley, severely wounded.
Miller, George H., Overland, severely wounded, mechanic.
Miller, Henry L., Chillicothe, severely wounded.
Moore, Corpl. Clayton H., St. Louis.
Moore, Pvt. John H., St. Louis.
Morehouse, Ira, Kahoka, severely wounded, mechanic.
Morris, Lieut. L. I., Lexington, severely wounded.
Mosier, Pvt. Zeno C., Bonne Terre.
Mosner, Pvt. Roy J. (K.?), Wellston.
Mullins, Russell J., Farmington, severely wounded.
Munday, Leonidus S., Holden, severely wounded.
Muren, Earl F., St. Louis, severely wounded, marine.
Murrey, Guy B., Fairport, severely wounded, marine.
Murray, Dr. Samuel A., Holden, slightly gassed.

Nesselhof, Lieut. William, Kansas City, severely wounded.
Nifong, Pvt. Shirley C., Fredericktown, severely wounded.
Nolan, William T., Jr., St. Louis, severely wounded, marine.

Oneal, William G., California, severely wounded, marine.
O'Neill, Pvt. Maurice F., St. Louis, marine.

Paladin, Sergt. Frank, St. Louis, severely wounded.
Phelps, William E., Marquand, severely wounded, marine.
Pierce, Pvt. James H., Clarence, severely wounded.
Pierce, Pvt. Louis B., St. Louis, severely wounded.
Pinson, John F., Jr., St. Louis, severely wounded, marine.
Prettyman, Charles F., Kansas City, severely wounded, marine.
Purves, William J., St. Louis, marine.

Randall, Bertie W., St. Louis, severely wounded.
Reed, Corpl. Erwin A. (S.?), Des Arc, severely wounded.
Renick, Fred A., St. Louis, severely wounded.
Renkel, Pvt. Roger W., Normandy, severely wounded, marine.
Rice, Lieut. Carl C., Springfield.
Roam, Pvt. Dewey S., Crocker.
Roberts, Capt. Louis T., Excelsior Springs.
Roberts, Corpl. Robert L., Knobnoster, severely wounded.
Robnett, Paul J., Hartville, severely wounded, marine.
Rogers, Pvt. Forrest John, Trenton, severely wounded.
Rokes, Pvt. Leland S., Warren.

Roloff, Pvt. Carl E., Wright, severely wounded.
Rose, Pvt. Otis, Viola, severely wounded.
Rosenstengel, Pvt. William, Doe Run, severely wounded.
Rouse, Pvt. Nelson H., Monroe City, severely wounded.
Rubert, Corpl. James J., Rollinville.
Ryan, Pvt. John, Doniphan, severely wounded.

Sanderson, Pvt. Paul H., Bowling Green, severely wounded, marine.
Schettler, Laurence, St. Louis, severely wounded.
Schmidt, Pvt. Charles W., ————, severely wounded.
Schoenlaub, Louis, St. Louis, severely wounded, marine.
Schreiber, Abraham, St. Louis, severely wounded.
Schumacher, Lieut. Clark Peter, St. Louis, severely wounded.
Segelke, Pvt. Harry W., St. Louis.
Selden, Pvt. Guy, St. Louis.
Sellers, Lieut. McBrayer, Lexington, severely wounded.
Shaw, William T., Greenfield.
Siegle, Pvt. William, St. Louis, severely wounded.
Silch, Pvt. William E., St. Louis, severely wounded.
Skaggs, Pvt. William H., St. Louis, marine.
Spencer, Pvt. Charles W., St. Louis, severelywounded, machine gunner.
Sperry, Pvt. Raymond W., St. Louis, severely wounded.
Steele, John M., St. Louis, marine.
Stolte, Gentry G., Kansas City, gassed.
Stone, Sergt., Joseph J., Macon.
Strautman, Henry B., St. Louis, severely wounded, marine.
Strong, Arthur R., DeKalb.
Stuart, Pvt. Fred, Brookfield, severely wounded.

Taggart, Corpl. Mayo E., Snyder, severely wounded.
Tavley, William M., St. Louis, severely wounded.
Thall, Lieut. A. B., St. Louis, severely wounded.
Thieme, Pvt. Robert L., Ferguson, marine.
Thomas, Henry E., Marceline, severely wounded.
Thomas, Morris H., Edgar Springs, severely wounded.
Thompson, Sergt. Charles S., Ravenwood.
Thompson, Pvt. Clifford E., Knobnoster, severely wounded.
Thornburg, Corpl. Roy E., Greenville, severely wounded.
Tittman, Lieut. Harold H. Jr., St. Louis, severely wounded.
Tucker, Pvt. Thomas B., St. Louis, marine.

Vance, Pvt. Jake, Melburn.

Walter, Pvt. Raymond A., St. Louis, marine.
Walsh, John W., St. Louis.

Ward, William J., St. Louis, severely wounded, mechanic.
Wehrle, Walter, Eureka, severely wounded, marine.
Weismantel, Pvt. Clarence G., St. Louis, marine.
Weld, Joseph G., St. Louis.
Wendel, Pvt. Leonard, Kirkwood, severely wounded.
West, Pvt. John V., Creighton,
Wirfs, Pvt. Edward J., St. Louis, marine.
Wooden, Pvt. Noland O., Bogard.
Worley, Pvt. Charles W., St. Joseph.
Wright, Pvt. Ivan, Lamar.

Young, Pvt. Gus, French Mills, severely wounded.

The following Missourians have died at various camps and hospitals in the United States:

Anderson, Recruit Morris F., St. Louis.

Blankenship, Pvt. Lee V., St. Joseph.
Brooks, Montie, Fulton.
Burnett, Pvt. George W., Naylor.

Cameron, Pvt. John D., St. Louis,
Cary, Pvt. Lee, Netherland.
Cohen, Recruit Henry H., St. Louis.

Elliott, Pvt. Clarence C., Holmes Park.

Ferry, Lieut. Clinton Sumner, Sheldon.
Fulkerson, Pvt. Ross, Defiance.

Graham, Corpl. Charles H., Clinton.

Hale, Roy C., Moberly.
Hallerman, Recruit Roy C., Moberly (or Halterman?).
Herman, Sergt. William, St. Louis,
Hocken, Corpl. Joseph H., Hillsboro.
Hubbard, Pvt. Oman, St. Louis.

Jackson, Chales W., Kansas City.
John, Sergt. Elmer E., St. Louis.
Jostman, Pvt. Harold C., St. Louis.

Keith, Pvt. Roy L., Chaffee.

Malone, Recruit Robert A., Canady.
Mizewl, Emerson S., Formersville (?).
Moore, Pvt. Virgil, Plato.

Osburg, Pvt. George, St. Louis.
O'Malley, Lieut. Joseph John, Albany.

Speckhart, Pvt. Carl C., LaGrange.
Tull, Lieut. Guy A., Kansas City.

Walker, Lieut. Robert Montgomery, St. Louis.
Wheeler, Lieut. James R., St. Louis.
Workizer, Maj. John Girardin, born in Missouri.

The following Missourians have been killed, wounded or are missing at sea:

Casey, Guy, St. Louis, navy fireman.
Cornett, Coxswain Robert Mark, Kansas City.

Gillespie, Seaman John Thomas, Kansas City.

Jeknins, John A., Eugene.

Pollock, Orrin O., Powersville, seaman.

Schilb, Leonard Lawrence, Montserrat, seaman.

Urquhart, William Archie, Harrisonville, fireman.

Weeks, Chance M., Lilbourn, gunner's mate.
Whitaker, Horace E., St. Louis.

Lieut. H. S. Singleton, of St. Louis, was injured in an airplane accident at Ottawa, Canada, on August 26th.

Lieut. Francis Poindexter, of Kansas City, was severely injured in an airplane accident near Springfield, Ohio.

MISSOURIANS IN SERVICE.

(To September 1, 1918.)

The following figures are lasting monuments to the courageous part taken by Missouri boys in this war. The absence of data on other states makes it impossible to give comparison. Missouri should be proud of her thirty-nine heroes who wear

the war crosses of France, Italy, England and the United States. To these countries might be added Belgium, Russia and Rumania, for General Pershing wears the War Cross of Belgium, and Lieut. W. B. Hall, of Higginsville, has been decorated on the Russian, Rumanian and French fronts. Even greater honor should she pay to the one hundred and thirty-three boys who were killed in action, the one hundred and twenty-five who have died of wounds and other causes in France, and the two hundred and seventy who have been wounded in France. Missouri's casualties in France now total 534, of which 48% are deaths, 51% are wounded, and 1% are known prisoners. It would be impossible in seventeen months of warfare such as has been waged since April, 1917, to have lost no men as prisoners of war. A wounded man can be taken a prisoner without censure, and thousands of England's and France's bravest men have been forced to surrender. Certainly, however, the hundreds and thousands of Missourians at the front have kept this part of their casualty list at a minimum—the total definitely known being only six.

WAR HONORS AND HEROISM.

Thirty-nine Missouri boys have received the Croix De Guerre, the British War Medal, the Italian War Cross, or the Distinguished Service Cross. Thirty more have been specially cited for bravery or recommended for honors.

ROLL OF HONOR.

Missouri's total casualty list is 593, classified as follows:

Killed in action in France	133
Died of wounds in France	45
Died of disease in France	44
Died of accidents, etc	10
Missing in action in France	26
Prisoners of Germany	6
Wounded in France	270
Died in Camps and Hospitals in the United States	35
Killed, wounded and missing at sea	22
Unclassified	2
Total	593

MISSOURI AND THE THIRD LIBERTY LOAN.

The official figures on Missouri and the Third Liberty Loan have been printed. They are full of interesting data which correct some former accounts and throw new light on this subject. Missouri is fortunate in having two Federal Reserve Banks, but for the statistician and historian it is confusing since Missouri is thereby placed in two districts in all Liberty Loan drives. The two districts do not present their data and figures in the same manner. Ninety-five Missouri counties and the City of St. Louis lie in the Eighth Federal Reserve District with headquarters at St. Louis: the remaining nineteen Missouri counties along the western border lie in the Tenth Federal Reserve District with headquarters at Kansas City. Both districts give quota and subscription figures, but the Eighth also gives number of subscriptions. The following statements are based on the published reports of those two districts and the United States Census of 1910.

Missouri's total quota was $79,599,700: her actual subscription was $110,828,300, or 152% of her quota.

Missouri's per capita quota was $24; her per capita subscription was $33⅓.

St. Louis and Kansas City subscribed $59,771,050, or 54% of Missouri's total subscription. The per capita subscription in St. Louis was $65, in Kansas City, $61, and in Missouri outside these two cities, it was $22.

St. Louis was the first city in the Nation with a population of over 500,000 to oversubscribe its quota and win the honor flag. St. Louis went over the top of its quota at 4:30 P. M., May 2, 1918.

Missouri is reported to have been the second state in the Union to win the honor flag. Missouri is also reported to have made the best record in the United States as to per capita distribution of the Third Loan.

All Missouri counties subscribed more than their quota.

Twenty-eight Missouri counties, or one-fourth of all, subscribed 200% or over of their quota. Of these twenty-

eight counties, not one contained a city of ten thousand population in 1910, and eight were Ozark counties with comparatively sparse populations and little accumulated wealth. The largest of these twenty-eight counties was St. Charles with a population of 35,738; the smallest was Carter with 5,504.

The three Banner Counties in Missouri with a subscription quota of over 300% were: St. Francois, 301%, Saline, 316% and Shannon, 316%.

The per capita subscriptions of Missouri counties based on population varied from $4 in Douglas to $65 in the City of St. Louis. The per capita subscription in Jackson county including Kansas City was $56, excluding Kansas City, it was $21.

The Banner County in per capita subscriptions (excluding Jackson county) was St. Charles county with its $45 for each man, woman and child. Next came Atchison and Holt, each $40. Other counties with exceptionally high per capita subscriptions were:

Lincoln, $39	Caldwell, $35	Lewis $33
Carroll, $38	Cole, $33	Cape Girardeau, $32
Saline, $38	Johnson, $33	Cooper, $32.

The Banner Town in Missouri in per capita subscriptions according to the 1910 Census was Treloar, Warren county. Treloar had a population of only 43. Her per capita subscription was $891. Her actual number of subscribers was 194, showing that the farmers around Treloar are both prosperous and patriotic. The total subscription of Treloar was $38,300. Despite New York City being the financial center of the world, the treasure house into which flow the dividends of thousands of the largest and richest corporations on earth, America's metropolis might still find difficulty in raising a similar per capita from her five million persons.

Silex, Lincoln county, ranked next, having a per capita subscription of $489. The population of Silex was 276, the number of subscribers, 729—another loyal town and loyal

farming community. The total subscription of Silex was $135,050.

As far as can be obtained from published official data, the little town of Arkoe, Nodaway county, is the Banner Town in Missouri in "Going-Over-the-Top." Arkoe subscribed 845% of her quota. The population of Arkoe is 87, her quota was $2,800, and her subscription was $23,650.

Three towns in Jackson county subscribed over 500% of their quota—Dodson, 517%; Mt. Washington, 562% and Raytown, 514%.

Three towns in Vernon county subscribed over 600% of their quota—Deerfield, 601%; Stotesbury, 643% and Walker, 603%.

RED CROSS.

Missouri's quota in the Spring Red Cross campaign was $3,000,000. Her subscriptions totaled $6,610,902.74. This was 217% of her quota, and a per capita of $1.99. Missouri was the first state in the Southwest Division of the Red Cross to meet her quota.

Lafayette county, Missouri, was the first county in the United States to exceed its quota, according to J. L. Johnson, war fund manager of the Southwest District. Lafayette county went over in less than two hours.

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GENERAL PERSHING'S ANCESTORS CAME FROM ALSACE.

When "Black Jack" Pershing fights with the French, every blow he strikes is for the home of his own ancestors as well as for the cause of the Allies. His forefathers came from Alsace. Leading from Bauman in that province is a highway called the Pershing road. The family name was "Pfoerschin," which in French meant "silk" and in German, "peach." American members of the family changed the name to "Pershin," and later added the final "g."

Frederick and John Pershing came to America from Alsace in 1749 and landed at Baltimore. Records show that these two brothers lived near where Greensburg now stands. John Pershing was one of the ninety-four patriots who took the

"oath of fidelity and allegiance" to form a regiment which was the nucleus of Colonel Proctor's Westmoreland Provincials, whose standard was the rattle snake flag.

General Pershing is a descendant of Frederick Pershing and is the fifth in line. Both his father and grandfather were born where Bradenville, Westmoreland county, is now located, twelve miles east of Greensburg.

In 1855 the General's father went west and settled near Laclede, Missouri, where the General was born. The Rev. J. H. Pershing, of Greensburg, who with his wife celebrated his golden wedding anniversary a week ago, is a cousin of the General.—*St. Louis Post Dispatch*, June 18, 1917.

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ST. LOUIS GETS TWO MUNITION PLANTS.

The Ordnance Division of the War Department at Washington approved in August the plans for building two great shell manufactories in St. Louis. These plants will be among the largest in the country. They will cost eight million dollars, give employment to six or eight thousand workers, and have a daily capacity of ten thousand shells. The Laclede Gas Light Company will be in control of the new plants, which will be in operation by the first day of January.

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THE MISSOURI MULE.

(From the Columbia *Evening Missourian*.)

Major J. J. Gledhill of the Lancashire Fusiliers in a recent speech said in part:

"Missouri entered the war on August 4, 1914, because from that date the Missouri mule has been one of the most important factors of the British Army. I have been engaged in France, Egypt, Palestine, the Dardanelles and at Saloniki, and everywhere the Missouri mule was the beast of burden. I hope Missourians will be as obstinate as their mules when the day comes for the diplomats to sit around the peace table and Germany asks for mercy."

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THE SPIRIT OF THE AMERICAN.

(From the *St. Louis Republic.*)

Lieut. Thomas Bagnall, of Marshall, who was on the torpedoed Lincoln, gives this viewpoint of the boys "Over There:"

"When I saw the boys on the other side I was never prouder that I was an American. The American boys over there wouldn't exchange places with anyone at home. I want to say to every chap in the United States who has reached the age of 21, get into this fight; you will regret it if you don't. I have met a lot of American boys in France and have yet to find one who would think of quitting the job until America attains the sort of peace this country set out to secure."

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Miss Loretto McBride was the first St. Louis girl to enter the United States Navy. She was ordered on duty in June.

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ST. LOUIS MAN IS "GREAT LAKES APPOLO."

The Chicago Publicity Bureau of the Navy requested the navy physicians to search the ranks of forty thousand recruits at the Great Lakes training Station and select the "best-made" man to pose for pictures. A St. Louisan, William Rankin, was chosen and the title of the "Great Lakes Apollo" was given him. Rankin is six feet and two inches tall and weighs two hundred pounds. Within a month after enlisting he won the rating of a chief petty officer.

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BARS GERMAN IN MISSOURI SCHOOLS.

(From *Kansas City Star.*)

Hon. Uel W. Lamkin, State Superintendent of Schools, announced in July that German would "not be an approved subject in the Missouri high schools next year." Last year there were one hundred and forty-eight high schools which offered German courses. In May the language had already

been eliminated in ninety-two schools. Superintendent Lamkin explained his order in part:

"I had hoped the elimination of German in the schools might come through local initiative. However, as I have not heard from all the schools, I am giving notice at this time no unit of German will receive any credit in the classification on Missouri high schools next year, nor will any high school be considered for classification if instruction in the elementary schools is given in any other than the English language. This is as far as the laws of Missouri give me authority to go."

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ST. LOUIS SENDS RECORD PARTY OF NAVY RECRUITS.

On July 7th, five hundred navy recruits left St. Louis. These constituted the largest single detachment of navy recruits ever sent out from a recruting station. For the week ending June 8, the St. Louis station enlisted five hundred and forty-five men.

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KIRKSVILLE BOY ATE HIS WAY INTO WAR.

(From *St. Louis Post-Dispatch.*)

Twelve times rejected for enlistment in branches of American service, Gay Miller, eighteen years old, of Kirksville, Missouri, was accepted for the British army in June through the personal intercession of King George.

Miller tried the National Guard the day the United States entered the war. The recruiting officer smiled approvingly but the medical examiner refused to pass the Missouri lad. He tried the army, the marine corps, the tank service, the engineers, and other branches of service, but his five feet three inches disqualified him. He was accepted in the Home Guards but the feel of a gun only inflamed his desire for the army.

Then he boldly wrote King George, stating that he wanted to fight but no one would let him fight. After a long time a letter came embellished with "by grace of His Majesty." Miller was praised for his spirit, and told to try again.

He rushed to St. Louis and presented himself at the British recruiting office. The officer smiled but the examiner frowned.

"Weight 98½ pounds; minimum for acceptance, 100," said that individual. Miller lost his faith in kings, but only for a minute. He sought the nearest restaurant.

"Try now," he told the examiner upon his return.

The beam balanced at 100.

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HAVE SIX SONS IN SERVICE.

To Mr. and Mrs. William E. Wightman, of St. Louis, war means more than wheatless days and sugar regulations, strictly as these are observed by them. Of their six sons, five are in active service in France and one is a student aviator at Austin, Texas. Two of the five are in the Naval Training Corps, one is a captain in the regular army, and two are infantry privates.

"I am proud that I have six sons in the service, as proud as a mother can be," said Mrs. Wightman.

Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Morgan, of St. Louis, also have six sons in the national service. Two are in the navy, active service; one is stationed at Fortress Monroe, Va., with the Coast Artillery; one is in the depot brigade at Camp Funston; another is a shipbuilder at Norfolk, Va.; and the sixth has just received a commission as a first lieutenant as a chaplain.

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WAR STAMPS ESSAY CONTEST.

In the spring of 1918 the Missouri War Savings Committee thru its chairman, Festus J. Wade, of St. Louis, offered to the school children of Missouri, five $100 Baby Bonds for the five best essays on "How to Help Uncle Sam Win the War Thru Thrift Stamps." On July 13th the State Department of Education announced the names of the winners: Lidabel Tracey, of Kansas City; James M. Mills, of Kansas City; Elmer Reynolds of Kahoka; Carol Hamilton, of Kinloch, St. Louis county; and John Noble, of Springfield.

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WE ARE GOING TO COUNTER-ATTACK.

The unknown "American General" who on Monday afternoon of July 15th, sent this message to his French superiors, expressed well the American spirit:

> "We regret being unable on this occasion to follow the counsels of our masters, the French, but the American flag has been forced to retire. This is unendurable and none of our soldiers would understand their not being asked to do whatever is necessary to re-establish a situation which is humilating to us and unacceptable to our country's honor. We are going to counter-attack."

This dispatch will go down in history with that of General Grant in 1864, "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." Promotion is reported to have been the reward of this "American general" for disobedience. Failure in the counter-attack would have meant the court-martial. He was successful. He knew conditions better than his superior, and he assumed the responsibility. What a tribute to his soldiers! Forced back from the Marne, the "American general" decided to counter-attack. For two months has this continued, and today (September 15) the Allies are at the famous Hindenburg line. The state from which that "American general" hails, should erect a monument to him.

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MISSOURIANS BUSY IN NEW YORK.

The Missouri Woman's Club of New York, of which Mrs. Grace Hickman Swaker is president, has attracted attention by its war activities. This organization has sold $631,000 in Liberty Bonds and $9,050 in Thrift Stamps, besides collecting $1,000 for the Salvation Army and $86 for the Belgium Fund, and presenting a Steinway piano to the battleship "Missouri." Last spring the club, assisted by a delegation of Missouri boys from Camp Mills, planted on Riverside Drive, below Grant's Tomb, a Missouri oak tree. They named the tree after General Pershing, and it grew and prospered. Two months later Mrs. Swaker sent some of the leaves to army headquarters in France. General Pershing's reply follows:

My Dear Mrs. Swaker:

I am deeply touched by your letter of June 26, inclosing leaves from the Missouri oak tree which has been transplanted on Riverside Drive and named in my honor.

May this little tree flourish and grow into a majestic representative of the forest, worthy of the soil which gave it birth, and by its grandeur fittingly symbolize the lofty character of Missouri's noble women. Sincerely yours. JOHN J. PERSHING.

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A 15-YEAR-OLD SOLDIER.

Howard A. Shore, son of Mr. and Mrs. A. F. Shore, of Pettis county, Missouri, is one of the youngest boys in the United States serving as a regular soldier. He was born in Morgan county, Missouri, March 12, 1903. At the time of his enlistment last February he lacked one month of being fifteen years old. He enlisted in the aviation section.

ONE-LEGGED "NEWSBOY" SENDS 378 TO NAVY.

(From *St. Louis Post-Dispatch.*)

His name is E. S. Phillips and he lives in St. Louis. Of course, he couldn't enlist but he turned over 378 applicants to the Naval Recruiting Station. Asked how he did it, Phillips' only answer was, "Aw, any man that's got any sense would join the Navy."

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ST. LOUIS HONORED AT GREAT LAKES.

August 21st was "St. Louis Day" at the Great Lakes Naval Training Station. This was the first instance of setting aside a special day. The honor was well merited as was proclaimed by these two banners: "The St. Louis District has sent 10,940 boys to the Navy," and "One out of every fourteen St. Louisans is in Uncle Sam's Service."

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A KANSAS CITY WAR PLANT.

When war came, the Talbot Reel & Manufacturing Company, of Kansas City, switched boldly away from making

high class fish reels and began bidding for orders for gun-sights and binoculars. As a result it is working on contracts running into several million dollars.

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MISSOURI S. A. T. C.

From press announcements in Missouri newspapers and the *Official Bulletin*, the following Missouri colleges have qualified for units of Students Army Training Corps: University of Missouri, Columbia; Washington University and St. Louis University, St. Louis; William Jewell College, Liberty, in conjunction with Missouri Wesleyan College, Cameron; Missouri College, Clinton; Drury College, Springfield; Park College, Parkville; Western Dental College, Kansas City; Central College, Fayette; Westminster College, Fulton; Polytechnic Institute, Kansas City; State Normal School, Warrensburg; First District Normal School, Kirksville; and the State Normal College, Springfield.

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THE FOURTH OF JULY.

Americans take it for granted that aside from New Year's Day and days of a religious significance, none is more widely known over the earth than the Fourth of July. The natal day of the largest republic, its significance is not confined to this nation. In many corners its observance has been a day of commemoration, but in a few, a day of execration—the latter in countries constitutionally backward. Some excuses might be met with in English history for any absence of zeal on this day. It is, therefore, the more noteworthy and praiseworthy to record in part this speech, delivered by Winston Spencer Churchill, Minister of Munitions of the British Empire, in Central Hall, London, England, on this July 4, 1918:

"Great harmony exists between the spirit and language of the Declaration of Independence and all we are fighting for now. The Declaration is not only an American document. By it we lost an empire, but by it we also saved the empire.

By applying its principles and learning its lessons we preserved our communion with the powerful commonwealth our children established beyond the seas."

It is reported that no country ever celebrated the natal day of another country as the people of Great Britian celebrated this Fourth of July. All classes, from the King to the laborer, showed honor to the United States. For the second time in history the Stars and Stripes waved above the great tower of the Parliament buildings in Westminster, alongside of the Union Jack.

This honor was due this nation, but only a democracy could render freely the honor. France easily did this, Italy could also, and England did despite the scar of a century and a half. England and the British Empire did double honor to themselves when they so honored America. Reverse conditions, change sides (if conceivable!) and can there be imagined such a willing act in the German Empire inspired by its ruler? Germany could so honor Austria, and Turkey, but never the United States or any democracy.

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MISSOURIANS ABROAD.

No. 5—Edward R. Stettinius, Assistant Secretary of War.

By J. Willard Ridings.

The present war has developed a man who has been called "The ablest spender the world has ever known." His hair is gray—almost white—and a bit thin in front. He has a low voice and a shrewd, appraising eye. His name is Edward R. Stettinius and he occupies the position of Assistant Secretary of War.

Shortly after war broke out in Europe the house of Morgan & Company in the United States was made the commercial agent of the British and French Governments; which meant that it was to have charge of all British and French buying in this country. Mr. Stettinius was making matches when J. P. Morgan & Company's partners, in a survey of the whole country to determine the ideal man to keep the Allies supplied with materials, agreed unanimously that he was the man best fitted for the work.

Yet he knew little or nothing about guns or shells or powder or chemicals or other implements of war. He had won no especial fame as a shrewd buyer on a colossal scale. To the public he was scarcely known. In industrial circles he was recognized simply as an able president of a rather large concern, the Diamond Match Company.

Even now, in the light of his recent publicity, very little information can be obtained concerning his early life and associations. To the average person it appears that there were any number of men of just as extensive commercial and executive experience and ability who might equally as well have been selected by Morgan & Company for this responsible position. Yet, as one newspaper commented on the matter at the time of Stettinius' appointment, "The house of Morgan is not in the habit of taking chances."

EDWARD R. STETTINIUS
Assistant Secretary of War
GRAY-ADAMS ENGRAVING CO

Edward R. Stettinius was born in St. Louis, Missouri, February 15, 1865. His father, Captain Joe Stettinius, was one of the pioneer river men of the Mississippi, afterwards a wholesale grocer. His mother was Miss Isabel Riley, daughter of Michael Riley, one of St. Louis' pioneer manufacturers.

Mr. Stettinius was educated at St. Louis University, but many of his classmates, who might have shed light on his early life, are dead. Those who are living seem to be able to recall little of the characteristics of Stettinius as a boy. One of them sums up his recollections thus: "Beyond the bare fact that I was a classmate of Mr. Edward R. Stettinius at the St. Louis University there is little I can tell you about him."

William Marion Reedy of St. Louis says: "I was with him in the second humanities, first humanities, and poetry classes. Then I switched to the commercial course. I remember him as a student of very good natural parts, with considerable proficiency in mathematics, but with enough of the eternal boy in him not to be infatuated with too close study. Although I sat in the same form with him we were not especially chummy, that is, we did not associate together outside of the school room and school yard. He belonged to another gang than mine, that frequented another part of town."

The one thing that all of his classmates remember is the appearance of young Stettinius, then a boy of thirteen, in the leading role of an amateur play called "Elma, the Druid Martyr." Mr. Reedy says of the play, "It was a piece of pietistic heroics which at that time were very effective."

Rev. Francis Cassilly, S. J., who appeared in the same play, writes from Omaha, "About all I can say of him is that at the age of twelve or fourteen he was very good, strikingly handsome, and a fetching little actor."

Rev. Lawrence J. Kenny, S. J., of St. Louis University, elicited the following from two of the instructors of Stettinius: "He was a youth of unusually perfect form and feature, strikingly handsome in a manly sense. He kept his outward self in harmony with his inner life; in his dress—coat, shoes, collar, ties—one might not note a stain or spot or wrinkle; his words

and gestures were equally immaculate. He was no prig—his laughter was hearty. He was always a favorite with his fellow students."

Dr. Louis C. Boisliniere of St. Louis, also a schoolmate of Stettinius at St. Louis University, recalls "The intensity, amounting almost to feverishness, which he brought to bear upon every situation with which he was confronted. The never-failing faculty of intense concentration on the matter at hand, to the exclusion of everything else, I believe to be his most dominating characteristic."

After finishing his education Stettinius worked for a while for the old grocery firm of Jarrett and Gilleland, and later for the hat and cap firm of Rothschild Brothers. He then went into two or three small lines of business on his own account, but was not very successful, afterwards working for the banking firm of Switzer and McNair.

At the age of twenty-six he had visions of making a fortune in the grain pit in Chicago, whither he went. But the price of wheat did not seem to rise and fall according to his expectations, so he left the grain pit to become treasurer of the Stirling Boiler Company. Almost immediately the panic of 1893 came on and the company soon had no treasure to keep. The treasurer met the crisis by adding bookkeeping and order soliciting and, perhaps, office sweeping, to his tasks.

When conditions became a little better, Stettinius went out on the road and solicited orders for his company. He succeeded so well that within a year he was made general manager of the company. The Stirling Company eventually succeeded, and in 1905 Stettinius was the prime mover in a merger of considerable consequence, which brought together under one head the Babcock and Wilson Company, the Stirling Boiler Company, and several others in the same line, and he had reached the point where the executives of other big concerns were taking notice of him. These included a group of Chicago capitalists who were behind the Diamond Match Company. They made him a member of their board, then treasurer, and in 1909 he became president. Proof of his great versatility lies in the fact that it is a far cry from making

boilers to making matches, but he was equally proficient in both.

It is from this point in his career that most of the knowledge of Stettinius dates. Only one sketch of his life has ever been printed under a license granted by the subject thereof. Its length is less than a hundred words. It deals with his activities up to the time that he became president of the Diamond Match Company by saying, "He was actively engaged in business for nine years."

Ohio C. Barber, who was his employer in the Stirling Company and who used his influence to have him made president of the Diamond Match Company, has this to say about Mr. Stettinius:

"I have been acquainted with Mr. Stettinius for perhaps twenty years, and associated with him in business most of that time. I can say with frankness that he is a man of intelligent subtlety. He is qualified in every way, in my opinion, for the position he now holds.

"He is neither God nor Devil, but just human, and is possessed of such traits that in the possession of them he readily sees them in others. I regard him to be a man of integrity. He would not be thrown out of balance, like the Kaiser has been, from the misconception of the term 'Proportion.' He is too much of a mathematician for that.

"He first became connected with me as secretary and treasurer of the Stirling Boiler Company, of which I was president, which was afterwards consolidated with the Babcock and Wilcox Company. Wishing to throw off some of my cares, I used my influence to make him president of the Diamond Match Company. He continued in that position until he went with Morgan and Company at about the time of the outbreak of the European War. He was always a good worker and alert to all changing conditions in trade and commerce."

When Stettinius assumed his duties with the Morgan Company his offices were at the outset besieged, one might almost say mobbed, by a horde of people who had things to sell. Some were responsible, but many were irresponsible,

and one of the first problems which faced him was to hold them off until some kind of a working system could be established. He was not long in doing this.

He accomplished this weeding-out process by the simple expedient of refusing to deal with anyone but the head of the firm which was soliciting contracts. Each concern was invited to bring in its technical men, and it became an important part of the duty of the chief buyer to size up these men who would be in direct charge of manufacture, and determine whether they were of the proper caliber.

While Mr. Stettinius is reluctant to talk of himself, he is enthusiastic about his work. In an interview with a magazine writer at that time he said:

"In organizing for the production of war materials we proceeded upon the theory, which we had no occasion subsequently to abandon, that 97½ per cent lies in the men, and only 2½ per cent in the bricks, mortar and machinery that make up the plant. Given the right stamp of men, we believed they would get there. We did not begin by studying the suitability of plants, but by studying the suitability of men. We went on the principle that a man who could successfully manufacture sewing machines or locomotives or railroad cars could successfully manufacture munitions, even though he might never have seen a shell in his life. Experience soon proved this was the only workable system."

Mr. Stettinius gathered around him a score or more of engineering, manufacturing and commercial experts, and in addition a force of perhaps one hundred and fifty other men, including clerks, but the clerks were selected with care. They had to be enthusiastically fond of work, apt; and of the rare sort that never look at the clock. When the work was at its height some of them formed an organization which they called "S. O. S.," which stands for "Slaves of Stettinius." A member who was fortunate enough to be able to go home at 9 o'clock at night was regarded by the others as having a half-holiday.

Edward R. Stettinius is a "master workman," and his executive ability does not consist of atmosphere and shoulder-straps. From the office boy up to the directors of the Morgan

Company, everybody admitted that he was more competent than themselves.

When the need arose for coordination of the buying of supplies for our own war bureaus the attention of President Wilson was quite naturally directed to this man who had been successfully spending ten million dollars a day for the Allies.

On January 25, 1918, the President of the United States, the whole country within his view, placed Mr. Stettinius, to use the language of Secretary Baker, "In charge of the procurement and production of all supplies by the five army bureaus—ordnance, quartermaster, signal, engineer and medical. His duty is to coordinate such purchases and properly relate the same to industry, to the end that the army program be developed under a comprehensive plan which will best utilize the resources of the country. His intimate knowledge of war conditions in Europe and in the United States, as related to industry, and the practical means he has used to accomplish his plans, pre-eminently qualify him for his position."

Quite a man's size job, but, cabled abroad, the announcement brought an immediate opinion from Viscount Northcliffe: "He," referring to Mr. Stettinius, "is easily the ablest business organizer in the ranks of the Allies or the enemy."

All the testimony, then, from the low and from the high, agrees in detail. Office boys and millionaires, with stenographers and lawyers and with manufacturers and bankers in between, say that Stettinius is worthy enough to be their chief.

An important manufacturer, who had occasion to come into intimate contact with Stettinius, says, "Invariably he was ready for any problem. His intelligence and concentration were like a powerful stream of water thrown by an engine through a large hose. When he changed his target it was not necessary for him to slow down entirely. He simply altered his direction and was as strong as he was before."

It has been pointed out that memory explains in part the power of this man. The prices, past and present, of all the articles, few or many, with which he is concerned, are fixed in his mind. He refers to no papers when talking with con-

tractors or subordinates, and so becomes impressive and gives emphasis to the respect that is accorded him by all.

Likewise, he understands human character and can read the secrets behind the mask of a blank or expressive face. His acquaintance with men of business is as wide as the continent and also embraces a good part of Europe. There is much, it is said, to his advantage in this. He calls Boston or Chicago, Pittsburgh or Cincinnati, and over the telephone talks intimately and knowingly of a bargain that is under way.

Mr. Stettinius is a constructive worker rather than a reconstructive. When he took up his duties as Surveyor-General of Army purchases he said, "I don't know a more important thing to do now than to see to it that the activities of the existing instrumentalities being employed here are not disturbed."

He went on to say that it were better, anyway, as a general thing, to mould the existing instrumentalities into something better than to go into the War Department with a dust pan and brush everything out. It isn't his idea, in other words, that the existing machinery should be scrapped because it creaks here and there. His idea is, rather, that activities become coordinated in such manner that "They will not conflict with one another, and to see to it that all purchases are made with due reference to a carefully considered military program."

"My attitude is toward strengthening and assisting in every way in our power in developing the existing organization and individual units. Certainly the statement may be made unequivocally that this is no time to tear down. There has been too much constructive work to be overlooked, with value that will become more apparent as time goes on."

This viewpoint was just what was needed for best results in the Department and on April 6, 1918, Stettinius was made Assistant Secretary of War by President Wilson, and the scope of his duties and responsibilities correspondingly broadened.

Men who have served under Stettinius, when asked what particular quality had drawn them to him, declare that he has the knack of making them feel their efforts are appreciated. He does not divorce sentiment entirely from business, they

state, but inspires, by his humane methods, such a spirit that every one of them is eager to show his appreciation by giving to his work the best that is in him.

Although very seldom consenting to talk about himself, a writer for *The American Magazine* did persuade Mr. Stettinius to discuss the subject of his "getting on."

"The law governing what it called 'getting on' is just as sure and inevitable in its operation as the law of gravity. Any healthy young man of average intelligence and education, who sticks courageously, persistently and perseveringly to his job, who refuses to be overcome by obstacles, but fights on until he has overcome them, who exercises all the industry and all the common sense at his command—any man of right principles who puts forth sustained effort and application is bound to win recognition. He will get the reward he has thus won. It is inevitable.

"Of course, there are too many round pegs in square holes, and how to find a round hole in the problem of each individual peg. The first and most important desideratum is to deserve to find a round hole, to be qualified to fill it."

That Mr. Stettinius has, with admirable success, put into practice his doctrine of "getting on" is shown not only by the position he holds in the affairs of our nation, but also by his business relations. He is a director of the Diamond Match Company, the American Gas and Electric Company, the American Power and Light Company, the Fidelity-Phoenix Fire Insurance Company, the International Agricultural Corporation, the Irving National Bank, the Model Fireproof Tenement Company, and the American Surety Company. Since being made Assistant Secretary of War he has resigned his Morgan partnership.

When Morgan and Company looked over the field for a man to place in charge of Allied purchasing there were probably several hundred men holding as conspicious a position as Edward R. Stettinius. Yet from these several hundred he was selected and later appointed by President Wilson to a still more important position. It seems logical to assume that his success has been made possible by his own theory of "getting on." He "deserved" to be chosen.

GOTTFRIED DUDEN'S "REPORT," 1824-1827.

TRANSLATED BY WILLIAM G. BEK.

FIFTH ARTICLE.

THE TWENTIETH LETTER.

Written in June, 1826.

"Among the necessary duties of the American farmer must be reckoned something, that in Europe would be regarded as mere sport, and that is the shooting of squirrels. Without this no harvest of maize can be expected. As soon as the maize comes out of the ground, the squirrels come in great numbers and dig for the germinated grains. Before this time they do not appear. About sunrise and sunset is the time when the farmer must be especially on his guard. This vigilance must be kept up for two weeks. These little animals become very destructive again when the maize has matured. At this time the raccoon (ursus lotor) is also a menace to the crop. This animal is hunted at night with dogs, which chase it into trees.

"Tho some farmers use the shotgun, the majority of them make use of the rifle, and indeed with such accuracy that the bullet rarely misses its goal. My workman fired twenty shots recently without missing a single shot, tho the squirrels were usually forty and more paces away, and altho he shot offhand. The rifles here are very long and of small caliber. They are made in the United States, most of them in Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

"We have several variety of squirrels, of which the gray variety is the most numerous, and also the most destructive to the maize. The hides of squirrels are marketable, but no one pays any attention to them here, where an abundance of everything makes spendthrifts of men. Of the feathers of fowls only those of the geese are made use of, tho it would be an easy matter to gather in a short time enough feathers

of the wild ducks and wild turkeys to make a featherbed. A pound of goose feathers sells for forty cents.

"It is high time that I should calm your impatience and tell you something, more in detail, about the people with whom I associate. About the Indians you already know enough, and of them I cannot really say that they live near me. It is the white man, the European and his descendant, of whom I would like to speak first.—At the outset I will say that the English language is the prevailing tongue here as elsewhere in the United States. It follows from this, that with the language, English customs and manners were adopted by the mass of North Americans. Small colonies of Frenchmen are found here and there in the Mississippi Valley, on the Wabash, on the Arkansas, and on the Red River, where French language and customs prevail. At the mouth of the Mississippi, in Louisiana, the French population is very numerous. The French of the upper Mississippi come for the most part from Canada. From there also a few German families have immigrated to the Mississippi and the Missouri, and lived here, even at the time of the Spanish dominion. However, the children of these people, as also their grandchildren speak English and do not know their mother tongue anymore. Even the elders usually do not know how to read or write German.

"Among all those who migrated from Germany to North America, only a very few were able to instruct their children themselves, and but rarely did enough wealthy families settle close enough together to establish a regular school. With the option before them of either letting their children grow up without any education or sending them to English teachers, wise parents chose the latter. The children did not find anything in their parents that argued any special worth for the German language. The German peasants and artisans, especially those from the Palatinate, Wuertemberg and Switzerland had never enjoyed the advantages of a better education, and therefore brought over their respective dialects, with all their harshness and crudeness, and were hardly in a position to recommend German culture and German

civilization to their surroundings. As in the matter of language, so also in the matter of customs and manners; these same immigrants were the sole representatives of the German people, and all this in the presence of Englishmen and Frenchmen among whom from the very days of the American colonies there had been men who belonged to the most cultured families of one or the other of the home countries. So it is easily understandable how, far away from the influence of a European viewpoint, which, without our fault was formerly none too favorable to us, there could develop in this country the idea that Germany was far behind England and France in civilization. This is in all America the opinion of the masses. Only a few natives of culture have a different idea of this matter. For this reason it need not seem strange that some descendants of Germans treat the immigrants from the land of their forefathers with disdain. To change this opinion of theirs, it would be necessary to begin by making comprehensible to them the wretched education of their own fathers. A sure means of protection against the presumption of such Americans is a ready use of the English language, for their arrogance thereby loses all its support at once as may easily be shown. Only the ignorance of the language of the land on the part of the immigrant can keep alive in these Americans the illusion of fancied preferment. In fact it is not advisable to speak German with this class of people, even if they should be able to understand it. Aside from the painful experience of seeing the mother tongue exposed to ridicule because of a poor pronunciation, it has seemed to me that these people deported themselves in a more elegant manner when they spoke English than when the conversation was in German. This may sound paradoxical, but one must consider that it was the English language alone which could divorce them from their inherited rude customs, and that *their* German language belonged entirely to the sphere of the just mentioned rude customs. The use of the 'du' and 'ihr' instead of the 'Sie,' which among the Germans of interior America is almost universal, may have had some influence on my judgment, but nevertheless there

is doubtless much truth in my assertion. Almost all those born in the Free States understand English, and those, who at the same time understand German, speak the latter poorly. They have usually learned it without good instruction from the already mentioned immigrants, and they mix countless corrupt English words with their German. Descendants of Germans who are wholly ignorant of the English are very few. In Pennsylvania there are some such families. Where several such families live together, it is usually religious peculiarities which keep them segregated. They are said to be even more backward than their half anglicized brothers, altho both classes are highly praised as models of moderation and of domestic industry. On the whole the educated German of the present Germany will find more pleasure and satisfaction in his intercourse with the descendants of the English *kind* of German, to which I have alluded. Among these classes there will also be found a more favorable impression and estimate of German culture of today, an impression which they have gained either thru England, or by comparison of the different classes of immigrants from Germany.

"The Dutch, Swedes and other northern Europeans have always been represented by numbers too small to make their influence distinctly felt on the masses. Their descendants have fused almost completely with the English.

"The French alone were able to limit and modify the English influence in the western part of this country. The French immigrant certainly was not lacking in cluture, and each one of them clung with his whole soul to the language and customs of the mother country. But they were too early given up by the home country. Since the surrender of the Mississippi region to England and to Spain the immigration from France has been very insignificant. The French settlers sought to forget their grief, caused by the political rise of the quickly increasing English population, by fostering close family relations, and were bound to lose so much the more of their influence on the whole, the less they were willing to sacrifice any part of their nationality. New immigration from the eastern states caused them to become only so much the more segregated.

"Immigration from England was therefore superior to all the other in point of number as also in political power, and it stood besides on a cultural plane which was at any rate high enough to prevent a minority from exerting an influence. This was especially true of the minority that was represented by the Germans. Immigration from Great Britain was not merely from the needy and uneducated classes, as was that from Germany, but at all times from all the different classes. It was so numerous and constant, that by it alone, disregarding entirely the great political and commercial intercourse, the essentials of English culture were transplanted to America, and were able to keep abreast with changes that took place in the mother country, England. A retardation in the intellecutal development was not to be feared among the English immigrants, unless the new home itself, the land and the climate of the United States, was regarded unfavorable to the sons of Great Britain. With the other immigrants it was quite different. They were bound to retard and the more they segregated themselves, the greater the retardation. Only the English population here was able to keep pace with Europe. It is certainly true of the present day descendants of the Germans in this country, that they remained behind so much the more, the more they held themselves aloof from the English language. It is no pleasing fact that attachment to the old country should have had such adverse results, and often one has occasion to wish, that under the obtaining conditions this attachment might have been fostered less."

In this vein Duden continues at some length, telling why the English came to America, pointing out that the history of the various eastern states in the matter of their settlement is practically the same, speaking briefly of Louisiana and its French population, asserting that the difference between free and slave states is but slight, since even in the free states there are many colored persons whose station is but slightly removed from that of the slave, and then saying that nicknames given the states and their people are not taken seriously. The origin of the word "Yankee" he says some authorities had derived from the Cherokee word "Cankee," meaning

coward, and that it was applied to certain tribes which had refused to join the Cherokees in an expedition of war.—The assertion that the United States had remained behind Europe in the matter of religious development is denied. If the accusation that tolerance is the progenitor of indifference, then Europe is certainly in as much danger of becoming irreligious as America. In America one is convinced that a people living under such favorable conditions will not soon turn away from the eternal voice of truth. Except in the state of Louisiana, where French customs prevail, all the states have Sunday laws, which are however, interpreted in a rational manner. Barring the Jews, all the inhabitants of the United States confess Christianity but they confess it in very different ways. Here then are enumerated the various religious beliefs with which the writer is familiar. Mention is made of the circuit riders who preached in private houses.—Feeling alarmed that his reader may have gotten the idea that the North American is nothing more than an Englishman transplanted to America, Duden vigorously asserts the contrary. He points out that in this country there is no such thing as a class of nobles. We are told that there is no difference between the man of the city and the man of the country. The American farmer must never be thought of as a European peasant transplanted. In dress and deportment city and country folk are alike. All professions are equal in rank. No one feels reluctance in doing manual labor. No prejudice prevents even a doctor, a judge or a colonel from tilling his own land. Only in the seaport towns one notices the influence of European conceptions and prejudices.—When in Europe a rural community attempts to take on the ways of the city there is always a tremendous lot of harm done, because the evil rather than the good things are emphasized. The best remedy is to have the young people of such communities emigrate to a country like America, where the joy of labor holds in check enervating excesses, and the abundance of everything makes poverty with its accompanying acts of petit larceny practically an impossibility.—The

vices which are found among the North Americans are in a large measure those which they have brought with them from Europe, other reports of travelers notwithstanding.—In the slave states the presence of the colored population may easily become the source of danger. The colored people ought to be segregated from the white population. At the present time the influence of slavery on the masters is of greater importance than is its influence on the bondsmen.—Artisans are on a common footing with their employers when it comes to dining at a common table, etc. White women will very rarely hire out as maids and cooks. For this purpose negro women are employed. This is true of the states where slavery is permitted as also in states where it is prohibited.—In all of North America it is the custom merely to touch the hat, without raising it, even when speaking to ladies. In the interior of houses the hat is removed, tho it is optional to remove the hat or keep it on when in hotels. In the country the same option obtains even in private houses.

The twentieth letter is in two parts. The second part deals with the subject of slavery in the United States, and with an examination of the moral side of slavery in general. The discussion of the moral side of slavery is by far the more voluminous. In all, this letter contains seventeen pages. For the present purpose it will suffice to take cognizance of what the writer has to say about slavery in the United States. The attitude which this German took toward slavery is rather interesting when it is remembered that the German immigrants that followed in his wake were, as a class, so strenuously opposed to the practice of this institution.

"Even the deterrent picture of the fate of slaves in the tropical regions, where they are herded together like animals, for the acquisition of colonial products, must not disquiet us. For the German settler the southern parts of the United States are not suited. Unless he is willing to sacrifice the well-being of body and mind to the climate, he must forego the cultivation of sugar, indigo, coffee, etc. But where the cultivation of the cereals constitutes the main occupation of the planter, there slavery appears in a milder form. In

regard to the care of the body, protection against sickness, and the amount of work required, the condition of a slave in the state of Missouri is to be preferred to that of the day laborer and domestic servants in Germany.

"It is true that this does not touch the essential point, and for the decision concerning the moral nature of the institution of slavery nothing is to be derived from it. But my purpose is solely, first of all, to remove the effect of the abhorrence, which the European feels at the very words of negro slavery." Then the author goes on to show that slavery is a very old institution, having been practiced by all the peoples of history. He speaks of the various conditions that make one person dependent upon another. The care which was taken to make the lot of the slave as tolerable as possible is taken up, and finally we read: "Also in North America the murder of a slave is not left unavenged, and in most of the states is regarded equal to the murder of a white person. Morevoer, there are laws which make it obligatory on the part of the owner to take proper care of his slaves, and there is especially the requirement that every one who sets a slave free must give security of his proper care-taking in his old age." Hereupon there follows the long discussion of the ethical side of slavery. Then he continues his discussion of slavery in the United States. "Where the institution of slavery exists, it makes no difference whether its origin is blameless or not, it is not an easy matter to do away with it. Even if in the abrogation of this practice nothing be taken into consideration but the welfare of the slaves themselves, it will not escape even the most prejudiced mind into what sad condition many of them would have to fall, if they were liberated without being properly prepared. Many of them would in their helplessness have to be compared to domestic animals, which, having grown up under the care of man, would suddenly find themselves thrown upon their own resources. In the United States the master is obliged to care for the support of the slaves, whether they are able to work or not, and the act of liberation by no means sets aside this obligation, when it is a question of one who is incapable of working.

"The result of my investigation is such, that I can not unconditionally criticise or blame a European, who lives in a slave state, if he desires to keep slaves. It must always depend upon the master, whether his purchase is a fortune or misfortune for the bondsmen. The European who comes to America may very well dismiss the idea from his mind, that the black population might be set free with impunity. Their color differentiates them so strikingly from the descendants of Europeans, that there can be no thought of amalgamation. In various states the marriage of whites with members of the colored population is prohibited. In Virginia, for instance, the white man who marries a negress or a mulattress is fined with six months in jail, and the parson solemnizing such union is subject to a money fine.

"The intellecutal status of the free negro in North America is nowhere superior to that of the domestics in Europe. The slave is, from a physical standpoint far better off than the European domestic. It is indeed a question whether the limited intellectual advantage, which an oppressed European day laborer holds over that of a slave in bondage, is not off-set by the latter's better physical care-taking. How much a negro or mulatto would gain by being set free may be judged from the rank which the free negro holds in society. In none of the states does the free negro or mulatto enjoy political rights, that is, they are nowhere considered equal to the citizens in regard to the rights and duties toward the state; they have no share in the enactment of laws nor in the election of officers, and, of course, can themselves not be chosen to office. Also in other ways there can be no idea of equality. In the state for instance, of Ohio, where slavery is not permitted, the free negroes and mulattoes are not allowed to testify against a white man. So much weight is laid on the matter of color, that no negro, whether he be free or slave, would dare to sit down at the same table with a white person. In the inns for teamsters, for instance, the colored people are always seen eating at separate tables. A slave suffers but little under such mortification, because he, as a servant, can make no claim of equality. One of the

powerful means of enforcing obedience in the slaves is their belief in the inborn superiority of their masters, and it is for this very reason that arrogance on the part of the whites does not find opposition in the slaves states. So much the more surprising is the fact that in the other states the advocates of emancipation do not fight against this sort of practice.

"I regard slavery in the middle states not so much an evil on account of the lot of the slaves themselves, as a danger for the ethical nature of the masters. I repeat that this statement is by no means applicable to the far southern states, where colonial products are raised. There slavery has taken on a form such as was scarcely known to the ancient nations of Europe. The like of this was reserved for the avarice of modern Europeans. In Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee a disobedient slave is frightened into obedience by the threat that he will be sold to the owners of sugar plantations.

"In the western part of North America the population is too small in comparison to the fertile cheap land for any one to carry on agriculture on a big scale without slaves. Even if one cared to provide only for one's own need, his domestic service would suffer, because of the lack of white persons who would be willing to hire out for this purpose. A person who can make up his mind to hire a slave will not have serious scruples in buying one.

"The customary price of a male slave between nineteen and thirty years of age is from $400.00 to $500.00. The price of a female slave is a third less. Often guarantee is given against the escaping of slaves, sometimes this is omitted. It is always advisable to take cognizance of this point.

"The owner of slaves always has their houses close to his dwelling. They perform all the different kinds of work which the domestics do in Germany. Self-interest alone induces the master to treat his slaves with consideration and make their lot bearable. He induces the young slaves to marry in order that they become accustomed to a regulated mode of living. The children are also slaves and go with the mother, if, as it sometimes happens, the father should belong to another master.

"There are instances known in this country where slaves have sought to avenge insult or injuries not merely by running away, but by murdering one or more members of the master's family." Several such instances are enumerated, but in conclusion it is shown that such things occur regularly even in Europe at the hands of depraved persons.

THE TWENTY-FIRST LETTER.

June 16, 1826.

"When I, according to my custom, wandered thru the woods yesterday, I found two bee-hunters. The mode of procedure of these people, which is so new to the European, had been described to me long ago, but this time I was charmed to learn to know it from a practical standpoint. You must know, first of all, that in the woods of Missouri also there are many wild bees which have their hives in hollow trees. If the method of finding these trees is well understood, a great deal of honey and wax can be gathered in a short time. It is generally said that America originally had no bees, and that the wild bees are the descendants of swarms brought from Europe to the eastern coast. Be that as it may, the Indians understand the bee-hunt even better than the whites. The two bee-hunters of yesterday were white men and live in Missouri. They proceeded as follows: On the ridge of a hill between two valleys they chose their first stand. On a place, free from trees, they built a small fire and laid some honeycomb on it, so that the wax melted, without being consumed by the fire. In this manner a pronounced scent of honey was distributed, which in a short time attracted all sorts of flying insects and also a few bees. Now it was the duty of the hunters to watch the bait fixedly, in order to be able to follow the bees with their eyes, when they took flight. By and by three of them took flight, and all of them flew in the same direction, which direction was carefully noted, knowing that a laden bee flies straight to its swarm. One of the hunters thereupon took a burning coal and walked about two hundred paces away on the same ridge, leaving

his companion at the first stand. He proceeded in the same manner as before, and anew distributed a strong scent of honey. Here, too, the bees soon came. Some of them went off in exactly opposite directions. The hunter noted both and called out to his companion to follow the first indicated direction. He himself started in the direction which was practically the one which his companion took. I accompanied him. We had hardly gone three hundred paces thru the woods when we met the other hunter. Now they looked about for a while, and in a dry oak, about fifty feet above the ground, we saw a small opening, where bees swarmed in and out. The cleverness of these two natural mathematicians surprised me, and I felt more pleasure in the discovery of the tree than they themselves. Since the hunters surmised that, because of the earliness of the season, not much honey had been gathered, the hive was not robbed. The bee-hunters designated their find by blazing the tree, which is universally regarded as the inviolable right of possession, and then proceeded in pursuit of the third direction noted above."

In concluding this letter, Duden tells about having seen a negro boy who robbed such a bee tree with the intention of selling the honey, a practice which owners of slaves generally permitted.

THE TWENTY-SECOND LETTER.

June 18, 1826.

Letter twenty-two is largely devoted to a discussion of bird life in Missouri.

"You can scarcely imagine how much pleasure wild fowl and birds of this country afford me. It is a ridiculous exaggeration to assert that there are no songbirds in North America. The belief that fine feathers do not go with fine singing may have given rise to such a statement. The nightingale is the only bird missed here. For the rest America's song birds compare favorably with those of Europe."

The following birds are described and their habits discussed: the thrush (turdus phoeniceus), the mocking bird

(turdus polyglottus), the turtle dove, "the sparrow does not disturb the farmer, one would indeed seek for it in vain in all of America," the chaffinch (fringilla caelebs), the American lark, "which resembles the European lark only in its plumage," the humming bird (trochilus mosquitus), the partridge, the whippoorwill (caprimulgus Americanus), different owls, various kinds of woodpeckers. "Wild doves appear at times in such great numbers that they resemble dark rain clouds. The branches of trees break where they settle. It sounds fabulous, but it is nevertheless true. There are also countless flocks of wilk ducks. Near St. Charles there occured in the course of this year a violent hail storm, which killed so many ducks, that a planter could collect some three hundred of them on a flooded piece of meadow land."

The concluding paragraphs of this letter tell about the flocks of domestic fowls which the planter can raise with practically no trouble to himself. And finally we are told that it is impossible to live on a Missouri farm without dogs, which protect the fowls against wolves and other beasts of prey.

HOW MISSOURI COUNTIES, TOWNS AND STREAMS WERE NAMED.

DAVID W. EATON.

Fifth Article.

* * * * *

Old friends are the best we have; and to the majority of Americans, both in city and country, old names are old friends.

ST. CHARLES COUNTY.

Organized October 1, 1812. One of the original districts organized by proclamation of Governor Clark. Named in honor of Charles V of France. When this county was organized it was the largest county ever in existence as it extended from the Missouri river to Canada on the north and the Pacific Ocean on the west and so remained until 1816.

St. Charles, county seat of St. Charles county, so named because it was the purpose of the vicar of Pontoise to establish a seminary there in honor of that saint, where the Indians should be educated. "St. Charles, the earliest and most important settlement north of the Missouri river and in the district, was at first known as 'Les Petite Cotes' and afterward as 'Village des Cotes'—this from the fact that the village was situated at the foot of a range of small hills, sufficiently high to protect it from the overflows of the Missouri." (Houck, *Hist. Mo.*, Vol. II. 79f.)

Augusta, platted by Leonard Harrold in 1836, a Pennsylvania German, and named for Augusta Harrold, his wife.

Cedar Pyramid, a curious column of rock standing in Darst's bottom near the Missouri river, 160 feet high. It stands out at a distance of 12 to 15 feet in front of a great cliff in the bottom, and for many years had a cedar tree growing on its top.

Cottleville, laid out in 1839 by Captain Lorenzo Cottle, who had seen service in the Black Hawk and Florida wars.

The grant of land on which Cottleville is founded was obtained in 1803 by Mr. Cottle from the Spanish Government.

Dardenne, postoffice, Township was named from creek of same name. It is said to be a corruption of "Terre d' Inde," "the land of turkeys," a game quite plentiful in an early day. (Note. *Early West. Travels*, Long, p. 129, says: "from one of the early settlers.")

Darst's Bottom, named for David Darst, an early settler.

Flint Hill, established by Talliferro P. Grantham in 1838.

Foristell, platted by the owner, J. A. Davis, in 1857, and named by him in honor of Pierre Foristell, an honored citizen near town.

Gilmore, named for Thomas Gilmore, an early settler who was one of a company to march against the British at Rock Island and who was killed by the Indians.

Hamburg, settled by Germans and named by them for Hamburg, Germany.

Hoeberville, named in honor of Frank G. Hoeber, first postmaster and merchant.

Howell, named for Francis Howell, founder of "Howell Institute."

Howell's Prairie, settled by Francis Howell in 1797.

Josephsville, named in honor of Joseph Wilmer, its first postmaster and a merchant.

Machens, a family name.

Matson, named for an early settler.

New Melle, settled by Germans from Melle, Germany.

O'Fallon, surveyed under the direction of Nicholas Krekel in 1857, and named for Col. John O'Fallon, a capitalist of St. Louis and a director in the North Missouri Railroad.

Peruque, named for creek which was so named from the fact that a French voyageur lost his wig in the stream.

Portage Des Sioux, so named because at this point on the Mississippi River the Indians carried their canoes across the peninsula to the Missouri.

Saint Peters, surveyed and platted by Henry Reinke and H. Deppe, and named for a Jesuit mission established there in early days.

Weldon Spring. Two settlers in Dardenne township at an early day were Joseph and John Weldon for whom the springs and town were named.

Wentzville, named for the chief engineer of the St. Louis, Kansas City & Northern Rairoad under whose direction it was surveyed in 1855.

Westalton, so named because of its location on the western bank of the Mississippi River opposite Alton, Illinois.

ST. CLAIR COUNTY.

Organized January 29, 1841. Named for General Arthur St. Clair "of the Revolution," who was governor of the Northwest Territory.

Osceola, county seat of St. Clair county, laid out in 1841. Named for the Seminole Indian Chief. The name is of a medicine drink used by the tribe in certain ceremonies. Catlin shows a painting of Osceola. In it is seen the sad face of the young Seminole fighter, who ended his notorious career a prisoner at Fort Moultrie, when but a little over thirty years of age.

Appleton City, platted in 1868 by William M. Prior under the name Arlington, but the name changed to Appleton City because the publishing house of D. Appleton, through William H. Appleton of New York, made a liberal donation for a public library and for school purposes.

Collins takes its name from the township in which situated, and which was named for Judge William Collins.

Harper, named in honor of W. G. Harper, a pioneer.

Lowry City, platted in 1871 by John Hancock, who named it for a friend in Indiana.

Monegaw Springs, is said to be the Osage word "Monega" for "wolf." "Tradition says that Monegaw, a well-regarded Osage Chief, retired to the cave nearby, and starved himself to death in grief at the passing away of the lands of his people to the whites."

Oyer, named in honor of its first postmaster.

Pape, named for Gideon Pape, proprietor of general store and saw mill.

Taberville, laid out by Doctor Taber, who formed a land company.

Valhalla, from the German-Scandinavian mythology.

ST. FRANCOIS COUNTY.

Organized December 19, 1821. Named after its principal stream. The St. Francois river was named for the founder of the Franciscan order.

Farmington, county seat of St. Francois county, was surveyed by Henry Poston in 1822. The site was selected by Henry Poston, William Shaw, William Alexander and James Holbert, commissioners. It was located on land donated by David Murphy. It takes its name from its pleasant location in the richest farming section of the county.

Bismarck, laid out by P. R. Van Frank and others and named for the Chancellor Bismacrk, who was then beginning to attract world wide attention. Name changed to "Loyal" in 1918.

Bonne Terre, a French word meaning "good earth." The name was given by early settlers to a mine which produced lead.

DeLassus, founded by A. D. DeLassus, October, 1869, and for him named.

Desloge, named in honor of Firmin Desloge, of Washington and St. Francois counties, who was president of a mining company.

Elvins, named for Politte Elvins, a member of Congress at the time it was established.

Iron Mountain, so-called because it was virtually a mountain of iron.

Knob Lick, derives its name from a buffalo lick at the foot of a hill near the town.

Loughboro, name formed from given name of Louis Yates, postmaster and merchant.

Syenite, named from the rock resembling granite.

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STE. GENEVIEVE COUNTY.

Organized October 1, 1812, by proclamation of Governor William Clark, as one of the original districts. Named in honor of a female saint of France (hence Ste., the feminine form). The town has been the county seat from the organization of the county.

New Offenburg, settled by a colony from Baden, and named by them for the town in the parent country.

Weingarten, platted in 1837 by Jacob Wolf and others, and named for town in Germany.

River Aux Vases, and town of same name.

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ST. LOUIS COUNTY.

Organized October 1, 1812. Named for the principal city within its limits. St. Louis city was settled in 1764, and named in honor of the sainted king of France.

Clayton, county seat of St. Louis county. Named for Ralph Clayton, an old citizen who donated one hundred acres of his farm to the new county. In 1878, Mrs. Hanley donated four acres for public buildings.

Allenton, laid out in 1852 by Thomas R. Allen and for him named.

Ballwin, takes its name for John Ball, who in 1804 settled the farm upon which the town was subsequently laid out.

Bridgeton, was settled by French and Spanish families about the time St. Louis was established. A fort was built for the protection of the inhabitants and William Owens was placed in command, and was first called Owens' fort or Owens' Station.

Brotherton, named in honor of Judge Marshall Brotherton of St. Louis.

Cabaret Island, located in the Mississippi between the Merchants Bridge and Chain of Rocks, named for an early French settler Cabaret or Gabaret, as sometimes spelled.

Carondelet, named for Baron Carondelet, Spanish commander-in-chief and Governor of Louisiana in 1791. Settled

in 1767 by Delor. First plat of town made by Laurentius M. Eiler.

Chesterfield, laid out in 1818.

Cliff Cave, named from a cave near which was frequented by the Indians.

Coleman, named in honor of Col. Norman J. Coleman, of St. Louis.

Creve Coeur, named for an early French fort. The name means "broken heart."

Ellendale, takes its name from the eldest daughter of William L. Thomas, publisher of school and home.

Eureka, laid out in 1858, and means "I have found it."

Ferguson, named for William B. Ferguson, who in 1858 gave land for depot on Wabash railroad.

Florissant, named for the flowery valley in which it is situated.

Glencoe, named for a pass in Argyleshire, Scotland, where the massacre of the McDonalds by the Campbells took place February 13, 1692.

Glendale, from the many beautiful dales or glens in the surrounding region.

Grants, named in honor of President U. S. Grant, who owned the farm in which located. Mrs. U. S. Grant was born at this place.

Kirkwood, platted in 1852 and named for James P. Kirkwood, the first chief engineer of the Missouri Pacific Railroad.

Manchester, named by an English settler for the town of that name in England.

Old Orachard, takes its name from an apple orchard that occupies the original site.

Sappington, named for a family of pioneers.

Webster Groves owes its name to Webster College, established by Artemas Bullard, a New Englander, who honored Daniel Webster.

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SALINE COUNTY.

Organized November 25, 1820. So named because of its salt springs.

Marshall, county seat of Saline county, set off as the county seat in 1839 and named for Chief Justice John Marshall, who died July 6, 1835.

Arrow Rock, "the Pierre a fleche" of early French explorers, gave its name to the town founded in 1829. It was also said to be a spot where the Indians formerly resorted for arrowheads.

Blackburn, named for M. P. and C. J. Blackburn.

Blosser, named for E. J. Blosser, a citizen.

Gilliam, named for a farmer residing in the neighborhood.

Grand Pass, received its name from the fact that the Osage trace or trail connecting farther west with the Santa Fe Trail here followed the narrow divide between Salt Fork and the Missouri bottoms. This "pass" is about one and a half miles long and in one place so narrow that a stone can be thrown across. (Thwaits.)

Malta Bend, laid off in 1865 and named for the steamer "Malta," which was sunk in a bend of the Missouri River about three miles from the village.

Miami, named for the tribe of Indians of that name. This word is the French spelling for the word "Maumee"—"Mother."

Napton, named for Judge Napton, an old inhabitant of the county.

Shackleford, named for Thomas Shackleford, of near Glasgow.

Slater, named for John F. Slater of Connecticut.

Sweet Springs, named for exceptional medical springs. Laid out in 1838.

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SCHUYLER COUNTY.

Organized February 14, 1845. Named for General Philip Schuyler of the Revolution. Died November 18, 1804.

Lancaster, county seat of Schuyler county, so declared

by act, February 4, 1847, and located by commissioners Robert Bronaugh, of Ralls; Harrison Munday, of Lewis; and John H. Romjue, of Scotland, to locate within one mile of the geographic center of the county.

Downing, founded by Henry Downing, after whom it was named.

Griffin, named in honor of A. L. Griffin, Assistant Superintendant of the M. I. & N. R. R. Co.

Queen City, laid out by Dr. George W. Wilson in 1867, as "Queen of the prairies."

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SCOTLAND COUNTY.

Organized January 29, 1841. Name suggested by Stephen W. B. Carnegy, a Scotchman and citizen of the county, in honor of his native country.

Memphis, county seat of Scotland county, selected by commissioners Obadiah Dickerson, of Shelby; John Lear, of Marion; Matthew Givins, of Lewis. They were ordered to meet at Sand Hill on the 3rd Monday in May, 1843 (May 15, 1843), and they selected the site which was called "Memphis." Samuel Cecil donated land for county seat purposes. Surveyed by J. F. Forman, October 11, 1843. First settled in 1838 and named for the city in Egypt.

Arbela, original survey called North Perryville, made by Thomas Russell, March 24, 1858. About the time of the completion of the Keo. & Wes. R. R., a new survey was made and the name changed to Arbela.

Etna, laid out and surveyed in April, 1865, by Andrew Hunt, and named for the volcano in Sicily.

Gorin, established in the spring of 1857 and named for Rev. M. G. Gorin but another writer says it was named for Maj. J. H. M. Gorin, an early settler.

Granger, laid out in 1874, surveyed by Henry Hill, proprietor, in September, 1874. Named for the Granger society which was attracting much attention at that time.

Sand Hill, settled in 1835 and surveyed in 1857 by Charles Durkee, agent for the proprietor.

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SCOTT COUNTY.

Organized December 28, 1821. Named for John Scott, first member of Congress from the State of Missouri from 1820 to 1827. Died in Ste. Genevieve in 1861.

Benton, county seat of Scott county, named for Thomas H. Benton.

Blodgett, platted in 1868.

Commerce, so named because a trading post of considerable business was located there as early as 1803.

Diehlstadt, platted in 1868.

Illmo, an arbitrary name formed from the abbreviations of Illinois and Missouri.

Morley, platted in 1868.

New Hamburg, laid out for Francis Heurig. Settled by Germans and named by them for Hamburg, Germany.

Oran, platted in 1869. Originally called Sylvania but name changed because of town previously called by that name in Dade county.

Sikeston, platted in 1860 and named for John Sikes.

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SHANNON COUNTY.

Organized January 29, 1841. Named for George F. Shannon of Marion county, who was superintendent of the publication of the journals of Lewis and Clark and was a United States attorney for Missouri.

Eminence, county seat of Shannon county, named from its high location.

Birch Creek, so named because birch trees grew along its bank.

Birch Tree, named from a small grove of birch trees, the only ones for miles around that stood near the site of the first postoffice which was about two miles down Birch Creek from the present site.

Congo, name suggested by Walter Webb, because when the postoffice was first established he had just recently been studying the geography of Africa, and the name of the Congo

River attracted him, and it was sent to the postoffice department, and accepted.

Deslet, name sent in to the postoffice department as "Desolate" from the character and remoteness of the place, but in the papers as returned it was misspelled.

Monteer, named for A. N. Monteer, who at the time the town was laid out was master mechanic of the Frisco shops, then the K. C. S. and M. Railroad, at Springfield, Missouri.

Rector, a family name.

Shawnee, named for a tribe of Indians that occupied part of this territory at the time the state was admitted into the Union.

Sinkin, on creek of same name, so called because at this point it runs under the hill for about one-quarter of a mile, the opening being large enough to admit passage of large trees down stream.

Winona, originally located in a pine forest, and named by some lumbermen from Winona, Minnesota. It is a Sioux female proper name signifying "a first born child." The name was first introduced to the reading public by Keating's pathetic account in his "Narrative of Long's Expedition" of the Sioux maiden who committed suicide because her relatives sought to make her wed against her will, and the name is used in Longfellow's "Hiawatha."

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SHELBY COUNTY.

Organized January 2, 1835. Named in honor of General and Ex-Governor Isaac Shelby, Kentucky's first governor (1792) who was again elected governor in 1812-1816. He died July 18, 1826.

Shelbyville, county seat of Shelby county, selected by Commissioners Elias Kinchelo, of Marion; John Day, of Lewis, and Joseph Hardy, of Ralls. Thomas J. Bounds was surveyor and commissioner to dispose of lots. Named for Gen. Isaac Shelby, of Kentucky.

Bell's Branch, in Shelby county, was named for Samuel Bell.

Bethel, settled in 1845 by William Kiel and others. A scriptural name.

Black Creek, so named by the surveyors who surveyed the country, because of the blackness of the waters when they first saw it.

Broughton's branch was named for W. B. Broughton.

Burksville, named for John T. Burks, its first postmaster and merchant.

Clarence, founded in 1857 and named for a son of John Duff, an early settler.

Emden, named for Emden in Germany.

Hager's Grove, named for the owner of the townsite, John Hager.

Hawkin's Branch, was named for William Hawkins.

Holman's Branch, was named for Thomas Holman.

Hunnewell, platted August 15, 1857, by Josiah Hunt and named in honor of H. Hollis Hunnewell of Boston, a capitalist.

Lakenan, named in honor of Hon. Robert F. Lakenan, who was a large land owner in the vicinity, and who was also secretary of the original enterprise of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad in 1847 and a strong worker for the enterprise, and the author of the charter for that road which was granted in 1842.

Lentner, named by John L. Lathrop of Chicago, a large land holder in the vicinity.

Oak Dale, founded by Wm. B. Boughton and christened in the spring of 1834, and so named by him from the many fine oaks along a dale nearby. Mr. Boughton was its first postmaster and kept a store.

Parker Branch was named for George Parker.

Payton Branch was named for John Payton.

Pollard Branch was named for Elijah Pollard.

Shelbina, named by the settlers, formed from Shelby.

Tiger Fork, was so named because John Winnegan killed two very large panthers in its banks, and the settlers thought they were tigers.

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STODDARD COUNTY.

Organized January 2, 1835. Named for Major Amos Stoddard, U. S. A., who on March 10, 1804, in St. Louis, received on the part of the United States from France, authority to govern Louisiana as purchased the year before by Jefferson. At the siege of Fort Miegs, Ohio, in 1813, he received wounds of which he died.

Bloomfield, county seat of Stoddard county, laid out by commissioners in 1836 on land owned by Absolom Bailey. So named because at the time the land was platted it was covered with flowers. It was the site of an Indian Village, first settled by whites in 1824.

Alhambra, the name of a Moorish temple in Granada, Spain.

Dexter, surveyed in 1873 and named for a noted race horse.

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STONE COUNTY.

Organized February 10, 1851. Named after early settlers of that name from eastern Tennessee.

Galena, county seat of Stone county, platted in 1852 and first called Jamestown but changed to Galena from the abundance of the principal ore from which lead is extracted.

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SULLIVAN COUNTY.

Organized February 14, 1845. "To be called Sullivan, in honor of General Sullivan of Revolutionary fame." General James Sullivan was a member of the Continental Congress of 1782. Died December 10, 1808.

Milan, county seat of Sullivan county, was selected by Commissioners James Lomax, of Grundy; Jeremiah Phillips, of Linn, and Walter Garett, Sr., of Macon. Surveyed in 1945 by Wilson Baldridge, surveyor, on land of Armistead C. Hill.

Harris, named in honor of A. W. Harris a pioneer and capitalist.

Humphreys, founded in 1881 and named for a pioneer family.

Owasco, an Indian word meaning "bridge" or "lake of the bridge."

Reger, named for O. M. Reger, a pioneer.

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TANEY COUNTY.

Organized January 6, 1837. Named in honor of Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, of Maryland, of the Supreme Court, who in 1856 delivered the celebrated opinion in the Dred Scot case. Died October 12, 1864.

Forsyth, county seat of Taney county, laid out in 1836 and named for Hon. John Forsyth, of Georgia, Secretary of State, 1834-1841. Selected as county seat by George M. Gibson, of Barry; John Mooney, of Polk, and Thomas Horn, of Greene.

Kissee Mills, named in honor of A. C. Kissee, miller and merchant.

Lake Taneycomo, named by combining "Taney", "co" for county, and "mo" for Missouri.

Taneyville, named formed from Taney.

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TEXAS COUNTY.

Organized February 14, 1845. Named after the Republic of Texas, afterward "The Lone Star State." "Texas" signifies "allies," "friends," "confederates," and was applied to such tribes as allied themselves or formed leagues for their mutual protection and defense. (Fulmore, *Geog. & Hist. Texas.*)

Houston, county seat of Texas county, selected by James Tunel, of Wright; Samuel H. Grigsby, of Pulaski, and John Buford, of Shannon. Named for General Samuel Houston, President of the Republic of Texas, and later United States Senator from the State of Texas.

Bucyrus, named for the town in Ohio of same name. Bucyrus in Ohio was derived from Busiris in ancient Egypt.

Cabool, named for Capital of Afganistan, now spelled Cabul or Kabul.

Dent, named for prominent family.

Elk Creek, named for the moose or the "Wapeti," locally called elk, that once roamed over that part of the country.

Huggins, named in honor of F. M. Huggins, first postmaster and merchant.

Licking, first called "Buffalo Lick" but afterwards changed to present name.

Maples, named in honor of J. J. Maples, postmaster and merchant.

Nagle, a family name.

Nile, named from the river in Egypt.

Plato, named for the Athenian philosopher.

Simmons, named in honor of D. L. Simmons, postmaster and merchant.

Tyrone, named for the county in Ireland.

Yukon, named for the river in Alaska.

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VERNON COUNTY.

Organized February 17, 1851. Named in honor of Miles Vernon, of Laclede county, a state senator from 1850 to 1860.

Nevada, county seat of Vernon county, platted in 1855 on land of Thomas H. Austin, and Benjamin Baugh. The name was given by DeWitt C. Hunter, the county and circuit clerk, after that of Nevada, California, where he had been a miner. A Spanish word meaning "snow clad."

Bellamy, named for Thomas Bellamy, the first trader at this place.

Bronaugh, platted in 1866 and named for W. C. Bronaugh, owner of the land.

Deerfield, platted by Judge David Redfield, and so named by him from the fact that it was a favorite hunting ground for the army officers at Fort Scott, when that place was an army post. Redfield settled there as early as 1838.

Halley's Bluff, named for Anselm Halley.

Harwood, platted in 1882 by John T. Birdeye, for Charles E. Brown, of St. Louis, owner of the site.

Montevallo, originally was laid out on lands owned by Joseph Martin in 1850. It was given its name by Rev. Thomas

German, first school commissioner of Vernon county, and was derived from the two Spanish words "Monte Vallo" meaning "Hill and valley." The present town was platted by Samuel Mariatt, in 1881 on land one and one-half miles southeast of former site.

Moundville, takes its name from mounds on which it was laid out by Harvey Karnes in 1860.

Schell City, laid out in 1871 and named for one of the original proprietors, Augustus Schell of New York City.

Sheldon, given the christian name of Sheldon A. Wright.

Walker, platted in 1870 and named for Hiram F. Walker, an early resident.

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WARREN COUNTY.

Organized January 5, 1833. Named for Joseph Warren, a Revolutionary patriot who fell at Bunker Hill under Putnam, June 17, 1775. Rank of general. A Mason of high honors, and at time of death was grand master of the continent of America.

Warrenton, county seat of Warren county, platted in 1835 on land donated by Henry Walton and Mordecai Morgan. Selected as county seat by a commission and named for county.

Holstein, settled by Germans, and named by them for Holstein, Germany.

Marthasville. On a hill near this place are the former graves of Daniel Boone and his wife.

New Truxton, is contradistinction to Truxton in Lincoln county.

Treloar, named for a member of Congress from this district.

Truesdale, named for William Truesdale, former owner of the townsite, and who platted the town in 1857. He was a civil engineer on the North Missouri Railroad.

Wright City, platted in 1857 by an early settler, Dr. H. C. Wright, and for him named.

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WASHINGTON COUNTY.

Organized August 21, 1813. Named in honor of George Washington.

Potosi, county seat of Washington county, selected by a commission as county seat on February 26, 1814, and named "Potosi," a mining town, from the Peruvian mining town.

Alum Cave, is a small cave where in the early history of the state alum was obtained. Reference to this cave was made by Schoolcraft in his notes on the minerals of Missouri.

Anthonies Mill, named for S. D. Anthony, the first postmaster.

Baryties, name from Baryta, the heaviest of earths called by the miners "Heavy Spar."

Belgrade, named from capital of Servia. The name means "White Fortress."

Caledonia, laid out in 1819. When the first lot of this town was offered for sale it was stated that the highest bidder and first purchaser of the lot should have the honor of naming the town. Alexander Craighead was the first purchaser and named it Caledonia in honor of his home town in Scotland. Located on land of Miles Goforth obtained by Spanish grant in 1804.

Floyd, named in honor of Sergeant Charles Floyd of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Hopewell, laid out in 1853 by Hon. John Evans.

Irondale, laid out in 1850 by Hon. John G. Scott, who with others erected a large iron furnace there.

Mineral Point, so named because of the abundance of several minerals in the vicinity.

Richwoods, laid out in 1827 and named from the quality of the surrounding country.

Troutt, named in honor of W. R. Troutt, postmaster.

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WAYNE COUNTY.

Organized December 11, 1818. Named for General Anthony Wayne, of Stony Point, of Revolutionary fame. Died December 15, 1796.

Greenville, county seat of Wayne county, laid out in 1818 and named for Greenville, Ohio, where General Anthony Wayne in 1795 concluded a treaty with the various tribes of Indians living in the Northwest Territory. When the town was laid out the site was a corn field, and the streets were laid out according to the rows of corn, as stated by one writer.

Gads Hill, platted in 1872 by George W. Creath, and named for the country home of Charles Dickens.

Mill Springs, laid out in November, 1871, and named so because a mill is run by a large spring.

Patterson, named for G. R. Patterson, a dealer in farm implements.

Piedmont, from the French "pied" meaning "foot" and "mont" meaning mountain, and laid out by the Railroad company.

Wappapello, platted in 1884 by S. R. Kelly and named for an Indian chief of the Shawnee tribe.

Williamsville, named for Asa E. Williams, who laid out the town in 1822.

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WEBSTER COUNTY.

Organized March 3, 1855. Named in honor of Daniel Webster. Died October 21, 1852.

Marshfield, county seat of Webster county, laid out in 1855 on site donated by William T. Buford and named for the home of Daniel Webster.

Devils Den, a lake on top of a hill.

Fordland, laid out by Judge W. S. Thompson in 1881, who named it for J. S. Ford, Comptroller of the K. C., Ft. Scott and Mem. Railroad Co.

Niangua, named for the streaam which rises in Webster county and empties into the Osage at Linn Creek in Camden county. The name is a corruption of the original Indian name Nehemgar, or Niangua meaning "bear."

Rogersville, named for Doctor Rogers, a pioneer.

Seymour, laid out in 1882.

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WORTH COUNTY.

Organized February 8, 1861. Named for General William J. Worth of the Florida and Mexican Wars. Died at San Antonio, Texas, May 7, 1849.

Grant City, county seat of Worth county, laid out in 1864 and named for General U. S. Grant.

Denver, named for a former governor of Kansas, James W. Denver.

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WRIGHT COUNTY.

Organized January 29, 1841. Named for Silas Wright, United States Senator, of New York. Died August 27, 1847.

Hartville, county seat of Wright county, named for the original owner of the town site.

Astoria, named for the Astor family of New York. John Jacob Astor, founder of the family, made a fortune in the fur trade, much of which was from the trade obtained in the Missouri Valley.

Cedar Gap, one of the highest points in the state, about 1700 feet and so named from the character of timber growing in the gap.

Norwood, named after Henry Ward Beecher's novel of that name.

PROVOST MARSHAL GENERAL CROWDER'S LETTER TO THE COMMITTEES ON MILITARY AFFAIRS.

E. M. VIOLETTE.

It was a matter of great personal regret that I was unable to incorporate in my article on Provost Marshal General Crowder which appeared in the July number of the REVIEW, his letter to the Committees in Military Affairs of Congress. An official copy of this letter did not come into my hands until after the article had been put into print and by that time it was too late to have it inserted. It will be recalled that the Senate had passed a bill conferring upon the Provost Marshal General the rank and title of Lieutenant General in recognition of his splendid services in connection with the Selective Service Act, and that the House was about to concur when General Crowder called all further consideration of the measure to a full halt by his famous letter to the Committees on Military Affairs. Inasmuch as such patriotic unselfishness and devotion as was manifested by General Crowder in this act of his is deserving of everlasting remembrance, I feel that the letter should be spread upon the pages of the REVIEW and thus become a part of the historical record of Missourians in the official organ of the State Historical Society. I am therefore asking the Editor of the REVIEW to publish General Crowder's letter in this number, together with some remarks made by Representative Borland of Missouri and Representative Kahn of California upon the floor of the House when Mr. Dent, Chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, submitted this letter to the House.

GENERAL CROWDER'S LETTER.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE PROVOST MARSHAL GENERAL,
Washington, July 5, 1918.

HON. S. HUBERT DENT, JR.,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. DENT: In view of that provision of the Army appropriation bill, personal to myself, now pending before the con-

ference committee, it is unavoidable that I should take this opportunity to lay before you and also Senator CHAMBERLAIN, chairman of the Senate conferees, my personal sentiments and to ask you to communicate them, if you see fit, to your associates.

That the provision in question involves a compliment and a distinction which I value beyond anything in my military career is natural, and that the approval testified to by the vote of the Senate gratifies me beyond the power of words to express is a simple statement of fact.

But, after considerable reflection and viewing the matter in a broad way, I am reluctant to allow the consideration of the proposed proviso to proceed any further. If the conferees are in accord with my wishes in this regard, I should be glad if you, for the House conferees, and Senator CHAMBERLAIN for the Senate conferees, in reporting back to your respective Houses that the Senate conferees yielded on this provision, would say that the action was in accord with my request and for the express reason next to be stated.

Forty-eight States and three Territorial headquarters and nearly 6,000 local and district boards, with an aggregate membership of nearly 18,000 citizens, assisted by legal and medical advisory boards in every jurisdiction, have cooperated with the national headquarters efficiently and honorably, and many without compensation, in the superb teamwork which has produced the gratifying results attained under the selective service law. These results embrace the registration of more than ten and one-half millions of citizens and their classification for military service and the entrainment of the nearly 1,600,000 men now serving with the colors. By August 1 of this year this latter number will be approximately 2,000,000 and by the close of the year, if expected requisitions are received, the aggregate will approach 3,000,000. Of the members of these boards it may be truly said that when the selective service system which they administer ceases to function efficiently to produce the military and to conserve the industrial man power we shall be in a fair way to lose this war. I have long entertained the view that something ought to be done to recognize publicly and emphatically the enormous sacrifices these citizens have made in bestowing the continuous and exhausting service that has been indispensable in carrying the administrative burden of the selective service system. The difficulty has been in devising a suitable reward, nation wide in its application, and acceptable generally to those who have so participated. At the risk of being regarded as ungrateful to the proposers of this provision I cannot bring myself to be satisfied that my own conscientiously performed share in discharging that duty should become the subject of recognition so long as the far greater share of these other builders of the National

Army remains without public and distinguished acknowledgment in the records of Congress.

These men, my fellow workers, their toils, their sacrifices, and their achievements, are next to my heart. On this subject I frankly confess to a deep sentiment—I hope that it will not be reckoned as sentimentality—a sentiment which would not receive unalloyed satisfaction from the bestowal of any honor, however generous, that is personal to myself only.

In placing before you at this time these sincere convictions, I trust that I have adequately expressed the motive that prompted this letter.

Cordially and gratefully, yours,

E. H. CROWDER,
Provost Marshal General.

Remarks of Representative Borland of Missouri:

Mr BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to pay my compliments to Gen. Crowder for the dignified decision that he has made by this letter. When the selective-service law was before the House I supported it earnestly. I regarded it as one of the greatest pieces of legislation that any nation had ever undertaken. I regarded it as the most remarkable piece of legislation in preparation for a war that was ever proposed or carried out by any country. The success of that legislation rested not entirely upon the wisdom of its construction, but rested, of course, fundamentally and ultimately upon the wisdom of its enforcement, and I think that we have been peculiarly fortunate that the administration of that great law, so nearly affecting the destiny of millions of American citizens and American homes, fell into the hands of a man who was big enough to handle that big proposition. We all admit that Gen, Crowder's handling of that selective-draft law has been the most remarkable success in our war preparation. We have heard criticism all down the line of other things relating to our prepardness, but apparently there has been almost a unanimous acquiescence in the proposition that the handling of the selective-draft law has exceeded the fondest expectations of those who supported the law. I believe that has been due in large measure to the splendid services and military knowledge Gen. Crowder. [Applause.] I believe it has been due also to the remarkable spirit of cooperation which has been shown by the local draft boards. I am free to say without invidious comparison that there is not a nation in the world that could have put the administration of such a law affecting the destiny of its citizens into the hands of local boards composed of provincial officers in every quarter of the country. No nation would have attempted it, and yet this

Nation, which less than a lifetime ago emerged from the most bitter civil strife, has seen fit to put it into the hands of local officers in every quarter of our land to administer a law vital to the national life. The administration that has been carried on by those local boards, the loyalty, the patriotism, and self-sacrifice that they have shown is beyond praise. I think that the cooperation between Gen. Crowder and those local boards and the interest which he has inspired in the local boards, and the spirit which he has put into them in the administration of the law has been a wonderful factor in the success of the prepardness and in the making of this great National Army for the defense of this country. He deserves and he has received from the American people a meed of praise for this work, which will crystallize into enduring fame. His contribution to the winning of this war has been substantial and will fix his place in the affections of the Nation as one of the great constructive figures of this national crisis.

I should have been glad on the floor of this House to have voted for what I believe is a well-deserved honor to Gen. Crowder, but I believe he has taken a big decision in refusing to permit any appearance of such individual partiality on the part of Congress toward himself. I think sometimes we set an undue importance upon the mere question of rank. But as that great poet of my own race, "Bobbie" Burns, says:

> The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
> The man's the gowd for a' that.

Remarks of Representative Kahn of California:

Mr KAHN. Mr. Speaker, I was exceedingly pleased to hear the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BORLAND] speak as he did of the valuable services rendered his country by Gen. Crowder. [Applause]. It has been necessary for me at various times since our entrance into the war, by reason of being a member of the Committee on Military Affairs, to consult with the Judge Advocate General of the Army and the Provost Marshal General, Gen. Crowder occupying both positions. I want to say that I could always find him at his desk as early as 8 o'clock in the morning; I could frequently find him at his desk in the War Department until midnight. His was constructive work. We were embarking on an almost uncharted sea when we enacted the selective draft law. It was reasonable to suppose that hundreds of mistakes would be made and that many people throughout the country would rise in anger against those who were charged with the enforcement of the law. I believe that from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the lakes to the Gulf there is but one feeling for Gen. Crowder, and that is a feeling of high regard for his ability,

his legal attainments, his honesty of purpose, and his great patriotism. [Applause].

In having written this letter which the chairman of the committee had read from the desk he did a big thing in a big way, and the country will give him due credit, even if he is not to receive an additional star on his shoulder, for having so graciously and unselfishly asserted that he does not want to be singled out for preferment in face of the fact that there are thousands of others in this country who have also done their patriotic duty and who have no present hope of reward. He voiced the sentiment of an overwhelming number of the Members of this House and his course will be approved generally throughout the Nation. [Applause].

But I want to call to the attention of the House this important fact: The men in the staff departments of the Army in war times are at a decided disadvantage. They share none of the glamor of war. They are not in the spotlight. They sit at their desks, and Members of this House and men who know nothing about the Army are inclined to sneer at them as swivel-chair officers. Without a proper and efficient force in the swivel chairs, without an able force, without a competent force in the staff departments and bureaus the men in the field could not perform their work. The latter are entirely dependent upon the work of the officers who sit in their chairs at the War Department, studying every detail of the formation of the Army, of the supplies for the Army, of the ammunition for the Army, of the ordnance for the Army; and when one of these officers breaks down, the effect is felt to the remotest trench on the farthest battle fields of Europe where American troops are participating. I hope that the House will never establish the precedent or subscribe to the proposition that, because a man is detailed to perform his duty in one of the bureaus of Washington, all opportunity for advancement should be denied him.

Many of these men are clamoring for an opportunity to be detailed to the front. They know that the opportunities lie there and they want to go. They appeal constantly to be permitted to go, but the Secretary of War has issued his mandate and keeps these officers at their desks. There is nothing for them to do but to submit, as a good soldier always does. So I hope that this House will never take a narrow view of this question. I hope it will never assent to the doctrine that because a man is detailed to one of the departments here in Washington he must forever give up any chance for promotion at the hands of his Government for duty well performed. [Applause.]

HISTORICAL NEWS AND COMMENTS.

The absorbing subject of writing, conversation and action is war. Authors use war plots; the "movies" war scenes; books of description, travel, history, religion, finance and science, make a war connection; statesmen talk war, journalists write war, and ministers preach war. If one would, he could not escape: if he could, he should not. Men and women today are interested in the fortunes of the American boys in France. For this reason the *Review* early began featuring war subjects. In the April-July, 1917, issue, the first of a series of articles was printed on "Missourians Abroad," beginning with General John J. Pershing. The preparation of this article began in the fall of 1916. It was finished in April, 1917, shortly after the United States declared war on Germany. The author, Mr. Ivan H. Epperson, at that time Newspaper Assistant in the Society and today in service in the Navy, closed his sketch by asking this question: "With this country an active participant in the War of the Nations and the probability that a strong expeditionary force will be sent to France, what is more probable or more desirable than that General Pershing should command it?" Before finished proof from the printer was returned Mr. Epperson's prophecy had been fulfilled and General Pershing had received his appointment!

The next issue of the *Review*, October, 1917, marked the beginning of another series of articles—"Missouri and the War." These have gradually increased in size, owing to the desirability of listing in full the part Missourians are taking in this war. An effort is being made to keep a complete list of all casualties, war honors, and general data from official sources relating to war activities. The *Review* believes that Missourians are as interested in reading today the records of the boys at the front as they will be in reading these records twenty years from today. That the policy of the *Review* in this respect has met with approval is seen

in the many personal communications received and in the widespread reproduction of these articles in Missouri newspapers. The following are two comments, one from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, the other from the widely known St. Louis and Missouri bibliographer and collector, Wm. Clark Breckenridge:

"A worthy example of collecting and compiling history while it is in the making is the work that is now being done by Floyd C. Shoemaker, editor of the Missouri Historical Review. Two stimulating articles have recently appeared in the Review, one in September, 1917, the other in January, 1918, entitled "Missouri and the War." The part played by the citizens of that commonwealth, the contributions made by the state both in men and resources, the recognition for distinguished services won by Missouri men in the service, are being carefully collected up to the very latest report. Before filing these records away in the archives for the use of students of a later generation, the editor is utilizing them to give the readers of the Review a survey of the current activities of their state in the war."

(*The Wisconsin Magazine of History*, June, 1918).

"In what newspaper experience I have had, one text has always been used by every man in authority over me. That text has been "Deal only with TIMELY SUBJECTS." I wish now to commend you for continuing your articles on "Missouri and the War," and widening their scope. Nothing else could be so well timed. This War more than any other influence is going to make us a NATION, —one people with no hyphens used, to indicate foreign ties or allegiances. And after the war a study of our history, both local and general, will become the order of the day. All will then have that pride in our nation which will keep the fires of patriotism forever burning. This idea expresses my belief in the future field of the Historical Society."

(*William Clark Breckenridge.*)

GENERAL.

WAR INDUSTRIES BOARD:

On July 15, 1918, the chief of the Paper and Pulp Division of the War Industries Board issued an order to all publishers of daily and weekly papers prohibiting them from donating or exchanging their publications. The order was issued to conserve the paper supply. It threatened to destroy, how-

ever, the most important department of many historical societies in the nation. To the State Historical Society of Missouri it meant the stopping of over six hundred Missouri newspapers whose bound files were complete since 1899 and in many instances of files running back before the Civil War. The Society wired the officials at Washington, D. C., explaining the irrepairable damage that would be done if the order were enforced, and requesting that some exemption be made in regard to such institutions as historical societies and libraries. Other historical societies over the nation also presented their cases and as a result this supplementary ruling was made by the War Industries Board:

"Copies may be sent free to Library of Congress, and to State and other public libraries who will agree to bind and otherwise permanently preserve the files of the papers."

As a result of special effort made by this Society, it did not lose a single issue of its Missouri newspapers by ruling of the War Industries Board. Many Missouri editors wrote that they would carry the Society on their mailing list and pay for its subscription out of their pockets, before seeing a gap in their files. So highly did the journalists of Missouri regard the work being carried on by the Society in this field.

VIOLETTE'S HISTORY OF MISSOURI:

A copy of *A History of Missouri*, by Prof. E. M. Violette, (D. C. Heath & Co.) came too late for a comprehensive review being made in this issue. The work is primarily intended for use in the schools of the State. It contains 466 pages, and 34 pages of index and bibliographical notes. It is the most comprehensive history of Missouri that has been published since Switzler's, a book long out of print. It promises to be both interesting and valuable reading. A full review of this work will be included in the January issue of the quarterly.

WILLIAM L. THOMAS—AN APPRECIATION:

When William L. Thomas, of Maplewood, Missouri, died at his home on July 19, 1918, there passed from public life one of the kindest and best of servants of the people. His sincere and pleasing voice will long be missed by his thousands of friends over Missouri, but his work will continue to live in their hearts. He was not a great man, altho this term would sometimes better apply to the unnoticed than to the popular, but he was a good man, a hard worker, a sincere and loyal friend, and a maker of progress. He founded three publications in three different fields of knowledge, and each was reliable. He was the first student graduate of the first dental college of Missouri, he succeeded in journalism. He founded the *St. Louis Miller*, the *Weekly Mail* at Kirkwood, and the *School and Home*. For twenty-four years he was treasurer of the Missouri Press Association, and was an honored member of that body for four decades. He wrote a short history of the Missouri Press Association, which is replete with valuable facts. In 1911 he compiled a history of St. Louis county. Mr. Thomas early recognized the value of the State Historical Society of Missouri and donated to it hundreds of volumes of Missouri newspapers, periodicals and books. He was a member of the Board of Trustees of the Society and did much to make that institution an agency of public service. He worked in the ranks for over fifty years, he left a monument that no man can mar.

DEDICATION OF DONIPHAN STATUE:

On Monday, July 29th, on the seventy-second anniversary of the crossing of the Doniphan Expedition into Mexico, the bronze statue of Colonel Alexander William Doniphan was unveiled at Richmond, Missouri.

This statue to honor the memory of Missouri's great soldier was erected at the expense of the state, under direction of the Doniphan Commission composed of W. M. Milligan, Louis T. Child and Jewell Mayes. The author of the

act authorizing the appropriation for the statue was Senator John F. Morton, who studied law under Doniphan at Richmond.

The statue is of bronze and represents Colonel Doniphan as shown in a daguerreotype taken in New Orleans in 1847—a young man in military attair. The statue proper is 10 feet, 6 inches high and rests on a base of six inches, which in turn rests on a pedestal of Missouri red granite 8 feet high. Frederick C. Hibbard of Chicago, a former Missourian, was the sculptor. He made the Mark Twain statue at Hannibal and the General Shields statue in Carrollton.

The inscriptions of the monument are as follows:

"Erected by the State of Missouri in honor of Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan, commander of the First Regiment of Missouri Volunteers in the war with Mexico. Born in Mason County, Kentucky, July 9, 1808. Died in Richmond, Missouri, August 8, 1887. On the roster of the great soldiers of the earth must always stand in a halo of glory the name of Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan."

"Colonel Doniphan was of immense stature, noble appearance, brilliant parts, fearless, of great moral courage, sanguine, faithful, just, poetic in temperament, the champion of the down-trodden, eloquent beyond description and without doubt entitled to be classed among the greatest orators and lawyers that ever lived."

On the south side of the monument is a sculptured bronze of soldiers in battle, smoke flying, and Colonel Doniphan urging them on. In bold letters: "Sacramento, February 28, 1847."

On the north side of the monument is a plate in bronze of soldiers on the march, with Colonel Doniphan on horseback, with these words: "Doniphan Expedition to Mexico, 1846-47. 3,600 miles. The greatest march in history."

The unveiling ceremonies were witnessed by some 20,000 people. The principal address was delivered by Governor Frederick D. Gardner.

DONATION BY JUDGE JOHN L. THOMAS:

Judge John L. Thomas of Waco, Texas, formerly of Jefferson county and judge of the Missouri Supreme Court, has recently donated to the Society a valuable collection of notes, documents and maps relating to the State. Judge Thomas began collecting this material years ago and has thoroughly sifted many points of fine evidence. Judge Thomas had intended publishing an historical atlas of Missouri, but since abandoning the work has given all the material for some future work in this field. This is now preserved in the State Historical Society of Missouri.

NOTE ON THE DUDEN LETTERS:

I received the July number of the Missouri Historical Review yesterday and found many interesting topics therein. On page 267 of the Gottfried Duden letters, I note his description of old St. Charles and the "jolly Frenchman" who lived on the southern bank of the Missouri River (St. Louis county), named "Chauvin." This was Lafrenier J. Chauvin, my mother's father. Duden is wrong about Mr. Chauvin being born in Canada. My grandfather was born in 1794 at St. Louis. He was of the second or third generation of Chauvins in America. The first Chauvins came to America, landed at New Orleans, from thence to Ste. Genevieve and then with Laclede to St. Louis. They were considered very wealthy and of the aristocracy.—Ben L. Emmons, St. Charles, Mo.

MISSOURI LEADS IN LITERATURE:

One of the most amusing newspaper controversies was presented the American public last spring. Literature, of all topics in these days of war, was the subject. It reminded the historian of the literary battles waged in the East a half century past, when Mark Twain was feasted and featured, but received by the "inner circles" with fear and misgiving. That reminds the historian that America's greatest humorist

gained fame and recognition among the leading men of letters in old England earlier than he did in New England. Boston and New York took the Missourian on probation, London received him with open approval.

Again the question started in the West. The *Kansas City Star* and other Missouri newspapers in April and May carried an open column on who was Missouri's greatest living poet. Compromise resulted in naming six. *The Literary Digest* and the *New York Evening Post* received the news with ill concealed joy. It aroused the humor of these two publications. They carried several articles on the subject, in which Missouri's present pretensions to literary fame were severely handled. The climax or anti-climax of the affair was reached, however, only a few days after the burial obsequies over Missouri's men of letters had been observed by the Eastern press.

On July 3, 1918, these two news items were sent over the wires of the Associated Press:

"The Pulitzer prize of $1,000 offered by the Columbia University for the best play by an American author produced in New York during the year 1917, has been awarded to Jesse Lynch Williams, formerly of St. Louis, for his comedy, 'Why Marry.' The decision was announced informally today by Augustus Thomas, chairman of the committee of award. Williams has the distinction of being the first to win this honor. 'We agreed unanimously in making the award that *Why Marry* was the best play produced by an American author in the calendar year of 1917,' said Thomas. 'The points considered were quality, originality and the general influence of the play.' "

"Sara Teasdale, of St. Louis, has won the $500 prize offered by Columbia University for the best book of poetry published by an American citizen during 1917."

Regard for truth compels the statement that while Mr. Williams was formerly of St. Louis, his native state is Illinois. Sara Teasdale (Mrs. E. B. Filsinger) was born, reared and married in St. Louis, where she makes her home today. The title of her book is "Love Songs." The most

enjoyable feature of the two announcements was that Augustus Thomas served as chairman of the Committee on award of the best play. Mr. Thomas is *also* a Missourian, having been born, reared and educated in St. Louis. The other members of the committee were not given but it would not surprise Missouri if others hailed from the State whose living representatives in the field of letters include Orrick Johns, Rupert Hughes, Wm. H. Hamby, Louis Dodge, J. Breckenridge Ellis, Winston Churchill, Homer Croy, Edna Kenton, Fannie Hurst, Caroline Abbot Stanley, William Marion Reedy, Leigh Mitchell Hodges and others of high standing.

PERSONAL.

JUDGE JOSEPH L. BENNETT: Born in Spencer County, Kentucky, February 29, 1836; died at Savannah, Missouri, July 2, 1918. He came to Missouri in 1856 and settled at Savannah, where he engaged in farming. In 1877 he was appointed Collector of Andrew county by the county court, and in 1861 was appointed by Governor Crittenden to fill a vacancy in the county court. He was one of the founders, and for a time the president, of the State Bank of Savannah, now the Wells-Hine Trust Company. In 1894 he became associated with the commission firm of Emmert and Bennett in St. Joseph.

WILLIAM R. BOWLES: Born at Greenfield, Missouri, December 25, 1857; died at Greenfield, Missouri, July 19, 1918. He was admitted to the bar in 1880 and practiced law until 1887 when he became owner of *The Dade County Advocate* at Greenfield. In 1912 he was appointed postmaster at Greenfield by President Wilson, which position he held at the time of his death. He was twice mayor of Greenfield.

HON. SANFORD E. BROWN: Born in Newton County, Missouri, March 7, 1850; died at Noesho, Missouri, June 12, 1918.

He served two terms in the Lower House of the State Legislature as a Representative from Newton county, being

elected first in 1892 and again in 1898. In 1914 he was elected as presiding judge of the county court of Newton county, which office he filled at the time of his death.

HON. JOSEPH H. BURROWS: Born in Manchester, England, in 1840; died near Cainsville, Missouri, April 28, 1918. He came with his parents to Keokuk, Iowa, in 1843 and moved to Cainsville, Missouri, in 1862, which place he made his home until his death. He was a member of the Twenty-eighth General Assembly of Missouri and was elected to Congress from the old Tenth Congressional district, being the last Congressman elected from that district. Burrows, while in Congress, was the author of the bill reducing the first-class postal rate from 3 to 2. He also introduced the bill providing for competitive examinations for entrance to West Point, and a short time later appointed John J. Pershing as a cadet, he having successfully passed the examination. Burrows was pastor of the Baptist Church at Cainsville for more than 40 years.

HON. H. W. KAMP: Born in St. Louis, April 19, 1851; died at Bellflower, Missouri, April 24, 1918. He lived in Warren county during his boyhood and early manhood and in 1884 moved to Montgomery county. He represented Montgomery county in the State Legislature one term. In 1904 he became president of the State Bank of Bellflower and served in that capacity until his death.

DR. A. J. MAGEE: Born at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, July 8, 1850; died at his home near Edina, Missouri, July 8, 1918. He came to Lewis county, Missouri, with his parents in 1857 and received his early education in the public schools of Lewis county and at the Kirksville State Normal School. In 1878 he graduated from the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Keokuk, Iowa, and was engaged in the practice of medicine until his death. He represented Knox county in the State Legislature one term.

HON. J. A. RICE: Born in Mercer county, Kentucky, June 21, 1836; died at Alton, Missouri, June 22, 1918. He came to Missouri in 1850, settling near Trenton. He served in the Civil War with the Union forces in the 2nd Missouri

Cavalry, attaining the rank of Captain after seeing some service. During the early 70's he served as deputy U. S. Marshal and in 1876 was elected to the General Assembly of Missouri as Representative from Oregon county. Later he served two terms as county judge. He was one of the charter members of the Masonic lodge at Alton.

HON. GEORGE W. RINKER: Born in Carroll county, Indiana, September 20, 1837; died at Aurora, Missouri, August 29, 1918. At the age of twenty-one he was elected to the office of County Clerk of Lawrence County and in 1865 and again in 1867 to the Lower House of the Missouri Legislature. At the age of six years he was a primary member of one of the first Sunday schools organized west of St. Louis, located near Verona.

WILLIAM L. THOMAS: Born in St. Louis, Missouri, December 6, 1846; died at Maplewood, Missouri, July 19, 1918. His early education was received in the St. Louis public schools and in 1866 he matriculated in the Missouri Dental College and was the first student graduate of the first dental college in Missouri. However, he did not choose dentistry as a profession, but a short time later began reading proofs with the printing and publishing house of Sheffield and Stone. A few years later he and an associate established a magazine called *The St. Louis Miller*. In 1877 Mr. Thomas founded *The Weekly Mail* at Kirkwood. Then, in 1883, he next founded the educational paper, *School and Home*, which he edited and published for sixteen years. He was a member of the Missouri Press Association for forty years and treasurer of the organization for twenty-four years. In 1911 he published a history of St. Louis County. The same year he was also elected Police Judge of Maplewood. Mr. Thomas was a strong supporter of the State Historical Society of Missouri and for years had been a member of the Board of Trustees.

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COLUMBIA

Entered as second class matter at the post office at Columbia, Missouri, under the Act of October 3, 1917. Sec. 412.

THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

Subscription Price $1.00 a Year

The *Missouri Historical Review* is a quarterly magazine devoted to Missouri history, genealogy and literature. It is now being sent to eleven hundred members of the Society. The subscription price is one dollar a year.

Each number of the *Review* contains several articles on Missouri and Missourians. These articles are the result of research work in Missouri history. The style of presentation is as popular as is permissible in a publication of this character.

Missourians are interested in their State Historical Society. The *Review* appeals to this interest by summarizing the recent activities of the Society. It also does this of other state-wide organizations of a historical or patriotic character. Important historical happenings are also chronicled and members of the Society are urged to make this complete for their section of Missouri. The general Missouri items include biographical sketches of individuals in public life or of historic fame.

Manuscripts and letters on all Missouri subjects of a historical or biographical nature are welcome, and will be read and decided upon with as little delay as possible.

Twelve volumes of the *Review* have been published. A few complete sets are still obtainable from the Society—Vols. 1-12, bound in best library buckram, $40.00; unbound, $25.00. Separate volumes, unbound, except Vol. 1, as follows: Vols. 2, 3 and 6, each $3.00; Vols. 4 and 5, each $2.00; Vols. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12, each $1.00. Prices of reprints of most important articles given on request.

All editorial and business communications should be addressed to Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary, The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XIII, No. 2 COLUMBIA JANUARY, 1919

THE MISSOURI MERCHANT ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO.[1]

JOHN BARBER WHITE.

Trade and commercialism were the chief factors in drawing the first settlers to Missouri. The attraction of the immense possibilities in fur trading caused the early homes and settlements along the rivers and in the valleys of Missouri, and led to the establishment of trading posts at St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve and other places during the Spanish occupation.

I am indebted to that great Missouri historian, Col. Louis Houck, in his *Spanish Regime in Missouri*, for many of these historical facts, which he has recovered from the dim past and which he has dug up and preserved for future generations.

He mentions the oldest settlement, Ste. Genevieve. Among the early merchants and traders there was a Louis Lambert, who was the wealthiest and most important. Louis Viviat, Francis Datchurnt and Louis Duchonquette were also prominent traders, as were the Valles and Henry Peyroux de la Condreniere, Post Commandants, and Walter Kennedy, brother of Patrick Kennedy of Kaskaskia, a noted

[1]Address delivered at banquet at Daniel Boone Tavern, Columbia, Missouri, on January 8th, 1918, in celebration of the 100th Anniversary of the filing with Congress of the first petition of Missourians requesting statehood.

English speaking trader at Ste. Genevieve. Jeduthen Kendall had a tannery and made boots and shoes there nearly a hundred years ago.

It was John Nicholas Maclot, who had once suffered imprisonment in the Bastile suspected of republican sentiments, who, when released, came to Philadelphia and was a merchant there for several years. He came to St. Louis with a stock of goods, a hundred years ago, and later with Moses Austin, a Connecticut pioneer, who was working lead mines in Potosi, went to Herculaneum on the bluff of the river and established a shot tower.

Mr. Houck mentions Moses Austin as a big representative of commercialism in the enterprises and mine operations in the district. In 1820 he followed his son, Stephen F., to Texas. He succeeded in obtaining from the local government a recommendation permitting him to establish on Texas soil three hundred families from the United States. He died in 1821, aged fifty-seven years, just as he had received word that the Spanish government had approved of his colonization plans.

Laclede as the representative of Maxent and Company was sent up the river, not to establish a town, but to trade in furs; but the town grew up around him.

See Houck's chapter on St. Louis for a record of all the big traders, including the Chouteaus, Martigny, Cerre, Clay Morgan, Manuel de Lisa, James Mackey and others. Lisa helped establish the Oregon Trail and was the most prominent man of 1807-8 engaged in the fur trade of that period. In the winter of 1808-9 he helped organize the Missouri Fur Company. He made extended voyages far up the Missouri, as far as Kansas City and beyond, as did also James Mackey and Gen. Ashley; the latter an early explorer of the Rocky Mountains.

Read what Houck says about Col. George Morgan, who was so closely connected with the early history of New Madrid. He brought many Americans into what is now Missouri. One of these was Christopher Haynes of Pennsylvania, who was Colonel in the Revolutionary Army in Westmoreland County.

Another was Moses Shelby from Kentucky, a brother of Gen. Isaac Shelby, who came with other Kentuckians. Dr. Dorsey and Dr. Richard James Waters were merchants and traders in New Madrid, and Louis Lorimer from Canada established a trading post at Cape Girardeau. Daniel Steinbeck and Frederick Steinbeck, Maj. Thomas W. Waters, a Revolutionary soldier from South Carolina, and others, also established trading posts at Cape Girardeau.

In Scharf's *History of St. Louis* is mentioned the merchant Francis Vigo of the mercantile firm of Vigo and Yosti, who rendered personal service in the Revolutionary War and sacrificed his fortune in redeeming continental paper to the extent of four thousand pounds.[2] Also see Walter B. Steven's *Missouri The Center State.* This gives the wonderful exploits of George Rogers Clark and his three hundred and fifty Virginians and Kentuckians in 1778 and 1779.[3] Clark wrote from St. Louis July, 1778, that "Our friends the Spainards, are doing everything in their power to convince me of their friendship."

Francis Vigo of St. Louis was of great help in the Kaskas- and Vincennes expeditions. Stevens says that Clark made repeated expeditions to St. Louis before he started in February, 1779, across the Illinois prairies. He had raised in St. Louis nearly twenty thousand dollars for his little army. Father Gibault, the priest who alternated between St. Louis and Kaskaskia, gave his savings of years—one thousand dollars—and he and his Kaskaskia parishioners knelt and prayed for American success at Vincennes. It was Col. Vigo, a citizen of St. Louis, who gave to Clark the information which enabled him to capture Hamilton and Vincennes. Father Gibault was in Kaskaskia and had the currency there when Commander Clark took this British Post on July 4th, 1778. So it was St. Louis merchants and St. Louis citizens who helped to make success in the Revolutionary War. Gabriel Cerre should be mentioned as another prominent St. Louis merchant who helped to finance General George Rogers

[2]Vol. I, p. 191.
[3]Vol. II, p. 538.

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COLUMBIA

Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Columbia, Missouri, under the Act of October 3, 1917. Sec. 843.

Genevieve. Here we learned that the Mississippi was covered with floating ice of a thickness dangerous to the safety of our craft, and indeed that it was impossible to ascend the river against it.....

.....

We arrived in safety at Ste. Genevieve and there found a favorable market. Our whiskey was especially welcome, and what we had paid twenty-five cents a gallon for, brought us Two Dollars. Ste. Genevieve was then an old French town, twenty miles below St. Louis, not so large, as dirty, and I was not half so pleased with the time spent there as with that spent in the Tawapatee Bottom."[5]

We read that Audubon was not pleased with Ste. Genevieve and longed to be back with his young wife in Kentucky. He sold out to Rosier. It develops that Audubon's clerk was named Nathaniel Pope.

In 1793 two flouring mills were established, one at New Madrid and one at Ste. Genevieve, with the purpose of promoting agricultural settlements and commerce along the Missouri and Mississippi.

The early mercantile history of Missouri and of its merchants is so great that one cannot cover the subject in much detail in a paper for an evening's reading. The best that can be done is to give names and authorities. Reference may also be had to the following:

Missourians One Hundred years Ago, by the Hon. Walter B. Stevens, President of the State Historial Society of Missouri, 1917. This is a wonderfully interesting booklet of about fifty pages and should be read by every Missourian.

Chittenden in his monumental work on the *History of the Fur Trade* is the best authority on the close relation existing between the early Missouri merchant and fur trader and the Indians. He has reproduced many of the old letters and diaries of the men of those days that are invaluable sources of information. These extracts from a letter of Thomas Forsyth to Lewis Cass, dated St. Louis, October 24, 1831, reveal the widespread character of the trade and the ascendancy maintained by the American Fur Company in this field.[6]

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 35.
[6] Chittenden, III. 926 f.

"The fur trade of the countries bordering on the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, as high up the former river as above the Falls of St. Anthony, and the later as the Sioux establishment some distance above Council Bluffs, is carried on now in the same manner as it ever has been. This trade continues to be monopolized by the American Fur Company, who have divided the whole of the Indian country into departments, as follows: Farnham and Davenport have all the country of the Sauk and Fox Indians.....also the Iowa Indians, who live at or near the [Black] Snake Hills on the Missouri river. [St. Joseph]..... Mr. Cabanne (of the American Fur Company) has in his division all the Indians on the Missouri as high as a point above the Council Bluffs, including the Pawnee Indians of the interior, in about a southwest direction from his establishment. Mr. Auguste P. Chouteau has within his department all the Indians of the Osage country and others who may visit his establishment, such as the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and other Indians. Messrs. McKenzie, Laidlaw and Lamont have in their limits the Sioux Indians of the Missouri, and as high up the river as they choose to send or go. The American Fur Company brings on their goods annually in the spring season to this city [St. Louis] from New York, which are then sent up the Missouri to the different posts in a small steamboat.[7] At those places the furs are received on board and brought down to St. Louis, where they are opened, counted, weighed, repacked, and shipped by steamboats to New Orleans, thence on board of vessels to New York, where the furs are unpacked, made up into bales, and sent to the best markets in Europe, except some of the finest (particularly otter skins) which are sent to China."

"The goods of Mr. A. P. Chouteau are transported by water in keel-boats as high up the Osage river as the water will admit; from thence they are carried in wagons to his establishment in the interior of the country.[8] In the spring of the year when the Arkansaw is high Mr. Chouteau sends his furs down that river to New Orleans, from whence they are shipped to New York.

"By the time that the Indians have gathered their corn, the traders are prepared with their goods to give them credits. The articles of merchandise which the traders take with them to the Indian country are as follows: viz., blankets 3 points, 2½, 2, 1½, 1; common blue stroud; ditto red; blue cloth; scarlet do; calicoes; domestic cottons; rifles and shot guns, gunpowder, flints, and lead; knives of different kinds; looking glasses; vermillion and verdigris; copper, brass and tin kettles; beaver and muskrat traps; fine and

[7] This was as late as 1831. Before 1819 there were no steamboats on the Missouri.

[8] *Ibid.*, 928 f.

common bridles and spurs; silver works; needles and thread; wampum; horses; tomahawks and half axes, etc. All traders at the present day give credit to the Indians in the same manner as has been the case for the last sixty or eighty years. That is to say, the articles which are passed on credit are given at very high prices. Formerly, when the opposition and competition in the Indian trade was great, the traders would sell in the spring of the year, payment down, for less than one-half of the prices at which they charged the same articles to the same Indians on credit the preceding autumn. This was sometimes the occasion of broils and quarrels between the traders and the Indians, particularly when the latter made bad hunts.

"The following are the prices charged for some articles given on credit to the Sauk and Fox Indians, whose present population exceeds six thousand souls and who are compelled to take goods, etc., of the traders at their very high prices, because they cannot do without them, for if the traders do not supply their necessary wants and enable them to support themselves, they would literally starve. An Indian takes on credit from a trader in the autumn—

A 3-point blanket at	$10.00
A rifle gun	30.00
A pound of gunpowder	4.00
Total Indian dollars	$44.00

The 3-point blanket will cost in England, say, 16 shillings per pair

1 blanket at 100 per cent is equal to	$3.52
A rifle gun costs in this place from $12 to	13.00
A pound of gunpowder	.20
	$16.72
Add 25 per cent for expenses	4.18
	$20.90

Therefore, according to this calculation (which I know is correct), if the Indian pays all his debt, the trader is a gainer of more than 100 per cent. But it must be here observed that the trader takes for a dollar a large buckskin, which may weigh six pounds, or two doeskins, four muskrats, four or five raccoons, or he allows the Indian three dollars for an otterskin, or two dollars a pound for beaver. And in my opinion the dollar which the trader receives of the Indian is not estimated too high at 125 cents, and perhaps in some instances at 150 cents.

In the spring the trader lowers his price on all goods, and will sell a 3-point blanket for five dollars, and other articles in proportion as he receives the furs down in payment, and as the Indians always reserve the finest and best furs for the spring trade. In the autumn of every year the trader carefully avoids giving credit to the Indians on any costly articles, such as silverworks, wampum, scarlet cloth, fine bridles, etc., unless it be to an Indian who he knows will pay all his debts; in which case he will allow the Indian on credit everything he wishes. Traders always prefer giving on credit gunpowder, flints, lead, knives, tomahawks, hoes, domestic cotton, etc., which they do at the rate of 300 or 400 per cent, and if one-fourth of the prices of those articles be paid, *he* is *amply* paid. After all the trade is over in the spring it is found that some of the Indians have paid all for which they were credited, others one-half, one-third, one-fourth, and some nothing at all; but taken altogether, the trader has received on an average one-half of the whole amount of Indian dollars for which he gave credit the preceding autumn, and calls it a tolerable business; that is, if the furs bear a good price the trader loses nothing, but if any fall in the price takes place he loses money.

"The American Fur Company ought to be satisfied with the Indians, for they have monopolized all the trade, especially at the posts before mentioned. There is a man now in this city who receives annually a sum from that company on condition that he will not enter the Indian country. They have also monopolized the whole trade on the frontiers together with the Indian annuities, and everything an Indian has to sell, yet they claim a large amount for debts due them for non-payment of credits given to the Indians at different periods."

"I visited this country as early as April, 1798, and in many conversations I had with the French people of this place, all that they could say on the subject of the Indian trade was that there were many Indian nations inhabiting the country bordering on the Missouri river who were exceedingly cruel to all the white people that went among them."

After General Wm. Ashley had some trouble with the Indians, the traders began to employ hunters to secure furs and this practice grew rather than depending on the Indians for them, according to the original method.

As an indication of the extent of fur trading business it may be stated that when the Hudson Bay Company and the Northwest Company consolidated, nine hundred clerks were idsmissed.[9]

[9] *Ibid.*, 933.

In 1762, the Louisiana Fur Company was organized by Maxent, Laclede and Company under charter granted by Gov. General D'Abadie for the purpose of trade in fur and minerals.

On the third day of November, 1763, a trading expedition under Laclede, with a large stock of merchandise likely to appeal to Indian taste, reached Ste. Genevieve, where a short stop was made; then continued to Fort de Chartres on the Illinois side before continuing to their original objective point, the mouth of the Missouri.

However, after a few weeks' rest at the Illinois post, Laclede, en route, was impressed by "a bluff on the western shore of the Mississippi at a sweeping curve of the river, on which now stands the city of St. Louis .... and determined to establish here the settlement and post he desired."[10]

Laclede placed the active establishing of this settlement in the hands of a youth, Auguste Chouteau (his stepson), who later became a leading merchant and trader of that place. He was the first of the family whose name became associated with all this great west.

This story of merchandising in early days is told: A "typical Missourian" was hanging about a slave dealer's stall one day when the dealer asked him what he wanted. He replied that he wished to buy a negro. Making a selection from the samples on display, he was told by the slave dealer that the negro was valued at $500.00 but that, "according to the custom of the country," he could have one year's time in which to pay the bill. But the question of debt so troubled the Missourian that the exclaimed: "No, No! I would rather pay you Six Hundred right now and be done with it!" Whereupon the slave dealer very obligingly remarked, "Very well, anything to oblige!" thereby relieving his customer's mind and at the same time adding $100 to his own pocket.[11]

At the time of the cession Ste. Genevieve was a more important place (it is reasonable to believe) than St. Louis, from a commercial point of view. At this time "the princi-

[10]Davis and Durrie's *Hist. Mo.*, 14.
[11]*Ibid.*, 34.

pal St. Louis merchants and traders were Auguste Chouteau, Pierre Chouteau, Manuel Lisa, Labadie, and Sarpy, Clamorgan, McCune & Co., and Messrs. Hortez, Pratte, Gratiot, Tayon, Lacompte, Papin, Cabanne, Alvarez, Lebaume, and Soulard."[12]

"The merchant of those times, it must be remembered, was a different personage, in all his business relations, from the merchant of today.[13] His warehouse occupied only a few feet;[14] his merchandise usually was stored in a large box or chest, and was only brought to view when a customer appeared. Sugar, coffee, tobacco, blankets, salt, guns, dry goods, etc., were all consigned to the same general receptacle."

"Imported luxuries, such as tea, brought enormous prices, because of the length of time involved in mercantile transactions * * * Sugar was $2.00 a pound, and tea could be purchased at the same price; other articles being sold at prices just as high in proportion. Tea was comparatively unknown to the masses." These prices prevailed in St. Louis according to Davis & Durrie probably at the time of the cession of the territory to the United States. It was but a few years until more normal prices prevailed, according to a letter, one of a series, owned by the Missouri Valley Historical Society.

This letter, dated St. Louis, December 29, 1820, is addressed to Nathaniel Jacobs, Catskill, N. Y., and is signed by J. Klein. It quotes the following prices: fine flour, five dollars a barrel; pork and beef, three dollars a hundred; butter, twenty-five cents a pound; lard, ten cents; coffee, thrity-seven and a half cents; red onions, often four dollars a bushel., etc. Also sugar was twelve and a half cents a pound, tea one dollar and sixty cents, and salt from one dollar to one dollar and a half for a bushel of fifty pounds.

Scharf in his *History of St. Louis* writes of the old St. Louis merchants as follows:[15]

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[12] *Ibid.*, 35.
[13] *Ibid.*, 37.
[14] Brackenridge says his store was usually in his own home.—Nettie T. Grove.
[15] Vol. I, p. 287.

"Its early traders, from the very first, undertook extensive operations and embraced wide areas in their transactions, employing not only capital, but the best men who could be found. Laclede had his partners in New Orleans, and the most of his time was spent in establishing trading posts up the Arkansas, the St. Francis, and the Red Rivers. The Chouteaus spent years among the Indians, acquiring such a familiarity with their language and manners and customs that they were sought after by the government as Indian agents and interpreters. In addition to the posts which Laclede established, they had stations on the Osage, the Upper Missouri, the Des Moines, and on Lake Michigan. Vigo traded from St. Louis to Vincennes, thence to Montreal and Detroit, and back again to New Orleans. Gratiot traded to Prairie du Chien and New Orleans, and went to England in the regular routine of business for his partners. Manuel Lisa was an explorer as much as a fur-trader, and he was as ready to fight his rivals and the Indians as to buy their peltries."

"Charles Gratiot and Auguste and Pierre Chouteau, indeed, were merchants such as sometimes do not appear more than once in a century. The former, for all he did business in Cahokia, and had lawsuits with Sanguinet of St. Louis, was better known in New York and Philadelphia than in the latter town, and better known in Paris, London, and Geneva than on this continent..... As a business man, Pierre Chouteau is said to have had no rival in the valley of the Mississippi for forty years. The very genius of commerce inspired him, and the plans of this Indian trader, who got his earliest training among the Osages, on the borders of Kansas, reached out wide like the arms of the Mississippi River .....Men of this sort ought to have been able to build up their own town, since they built up others when it suited their business. Note this of the founding of New Madrid by Cerre."[16]

Cerre sent two penniless French adventurers down the river to find a suitable place for placing a trading post.

The first point deemed advantageous was a large Delaware Indian town where New Madrid now stands. Mr. Cerre accepted their report, erecting the building and stocking it with a large amount of goods. Some years later the son of one of these adventurers reports doing $60,000 or $70,000 worth of business annually in furs for Pierre Chouteau at this same trading post.[17]

[16]Cerre was a St. Louis Merchant, originally from Kaskaskia.
[17]*Scharf*, I, 288.

"This business it was which established St. Louis at once, gave the town stability, and the leading inhabitants incentives to enterprise and control of wealth. Hunters found regular employment and good pay in the little trading-post town, and they profited by it. The spot, indeed, had been a hunter's paradise from the first, as well as a fur-trader's goal.....The hunters went forth from St. Louis to gather furs and peltries for the traders of St. Louis, and from Laclede's day up to 1830 the town was the general rendezvous of hunters and fur traders, and the Montreal of the Mississippi, and the depot of all the basin of the great rivers emptying into that river between the Minnesota and the Rio del Norte."[18]

"After the demise of this company [The Missouri Fur Company] the Chouteaus, Lisa, and Astor formed an alliance under the name and style of the American Fur Company, the successor of the Missouri and the Rocky Mountain Companies; and when Astor withdrew, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., became himself the American Fur Company. This company continued the work of the two companies which it had succeeded, opened up and explored the Rocky Mountains and Western waters, and for thirty years held a monopoly of the fur trade south of the vast regions ranged over by the Hudson's Bay Company. The firm did business on a very large scale, and at one time owned and maintained five forts, all built by themselves in the heart of the Indian country—Forts Sarpy, Benton, Union, Pierre, and Berthold....."[19]

"This trade was very valuable. The average returns on goods sent out was 100 per cent in peltries, and this by no means represented the actual profits, for the goods were valued at their selling price in St. Louis, not their cost, and the peltries at their currency value in St. Louis. But red cloth that might retail at 5s. a yard in St. Louis probably did not cost the companies more than 3s., including freight, interest, and insurance; and on the other hand, beaver worth $2.00 a pound in St. Louis might fetch twice as much in London, and five times as much in Canton."[20]

It is easily judged, therefore, the per cent of profit upon which the St. Louis merchant builded his fortune.

"Brackenridge, in his 'Views of Louisiana,' notes the fact that in 1810 the Indian trade of St. Louis with the Osages alone was worth $30,000, or nearly $6 per capita, the outlay in goods being $20,000—a profit of 50 per cent measured in furs. With the Cheyennes the trade was expected to yield a profit of 100 per cent,

[18] *Ibid.*
[19] *Ibid.*, 289.
[20] *Ibid.*

and so also with the Poncas and Arickarees. The trade with the Crows was counted on to return three for one, and that with the Pastanounas fifteen for four. The trade at Arkansas Post with the Chickasaws and Cherokees yielded five for two, and that with the various bands of Sioux four for one."[21]

"Fur was the currency of St. Louis from the days of Laclede very nearly until Missouri became a State and the town an incorporated city. Other things were taken in exchange and barter—beeswax, whiskey, potash, maple-sugar, salt, wood, feathers, bear's oil, venison, fish, lead, but fur was the currency and standard of value, the representative of and equivalent to the *livres tournois* of hard metal. The only small coin consisted of Mexican dollars, cut with a chisel into four or five pieces—"bits." A pound of shaved deerskin of good quality represented about twice the value of the livre, and a pound of beaver, otter, and ermine represented so many pounds of deerskin. A "pack" of skins had a definite weight, and thus trade and computation were both easy. Checks and notes were drawn against them, deposits were made of furs and packs, and on the whole they constituted a much better and more uniform currency than the staple tobacco which was at one time the only circulating medium of Virginia and Maryland. "Bons" were a species of order or note for goods, redeemable in peltries, which, when signed with the name of any responsible merchant or trader, had full currency in local and general trade. Practically, they were certificates of deposit, but convertible or exchangeable into any other equivalents in the course of trade and barter. Next to the peltry, which had a regular currency and pretty near a uniform value from Mackinaw, Detroit, and Prairie du Chien among the French settlements all the way to New Orleans and the Belize, the best medium of certain value, but only of limited circulation, was the "carot" of tobacco. This article is still prepared in Louisiana by the plantation manufacturers of tobacco, and "carots" of "Perique" may still be seen in all the tobacconists' shops—a solid roll of the shape and appearance of a bologna sausage. These rolls were called "carots," from their resemblance to the root of that name, and they were in common use and demand in the early days in Lower and Upper Louisiana from their convenience. All the grown population, male and female, took snuff; each carried his or her snuff-box habitually, and each prepared his snuff and filled his box in the morning. The snuff was not ground as now, but rasped or grated from the end of one of these rolls, and hence their form and solidity was a desideratum. The carots had a definite weight, like the packs of furs, and their usual value was about two livres."[22]

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] *Ibid.*, 291. A livre was worth about eighteen and a half cents at that time

"The fixed price was forty cents per pound for finest deerskins, thirty cents for medium, and twenty cents for inferior, and all contracts, unless there was an express stipulation to the contrary, were made in this medium. Spanish coin never affected the fur currency. The Spanish government paid off its officers and troops in hard dollars, but this was a mere drop in the bucket —less than twelve thousand dollars a year for St. Louis. Even after the transfer to the United States, peltry continued the controlling currency for a number of years. Judge J. B. C. Lucas made his first purchase of a house for his residence in St. Louis in this currency, buying of Pierre Duchouquette and wife their domicile, for the price of six hundred dollars in peltries. This was December 14, 1807."[23]

These peltries were redeemable in money only at New Orleans, and as the skins were subject to risk and loss on the way, the merchant sold his goods at a price proportionate to the venture. Everything sold at an enormous price, the result being that a common workman received ten to twelve francs a day.[24]

Scharf paid this remarkable tribute to Robert Campbell, fur trader and St. Louis merchant:[25]

"Years before, however, Col. Campbell had gained an enviable reputation for great energy of character, rare administrative ability, and dauntless courage, in connection with his fur-trading operations in the Indian country, in conducting which he did as much perhaps as any other single individual to give St. Louis her early fame in the far west..... General Ashley retired in 1830, having amassed a fortune, and then Campbell rose from being merely a leader of expeditions to the position of a prominent partner in the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, which was organized upon the withdrawal of Gen. Ashley, the leading spirits in its formation being Robert Campbell and Col. William Sublette. The American Fur Company, represented by Chouteau & Co., was an energetic rival in the field, and the vastness of the operations of these competitors appears from the fact that when, in order to prevent ruinous rivalry on the same ground, a division of the territory was agreed upon, there fell to Mr. Campbell's company all the immense region west and south of a line commencing on the Arkansas River at a point south of the Platte, on the twenty-

[23] *Ibid.*, 292.
[24] *Ibid.*
[25] *Ibid.*, 370 f.

fourth meridian, up to the forks of the Platte, thence to the dividing line of the waters emptying into the Platte and the waters emptying into the upper Missouri, thence to the Rocky Mountains, and thence to the forks of the Missouri.....John Jacob Astor had a house in St. Louis, and there were also engaged in the trade Gen. Ashley, Campbell, Sublette, Manuel Lisa, Capt. Perkins, Hempstead, William Clark, Labadie, the Chouteaus, and Pierre Menard—"mighty hunters before the Lord"—all of whom either lived in St. Louis or made it their headquarters.....Campbell's straighforward and truthful dealings made a similarly happy impression on the Indians. He never deceived or cheated them, as many white men had done, and therefore enjoyed their perfect confidence and friendship."[26]

Campbell acquired a large fortune in the fur trade and upon returning to St. Louis engaged in mercantile and other pursuits and became an exetnsive owner of real estate.

One of the first cotton dealers in Missouri Territory was John Mullanphy, of whom Brackenridge has recorded the following story:

Mullanphy speculated largely in cotton, and it was his bales with which Jackson erected a defense at New Orleans. When the owner entered complaint against such use of his property, Jackson replied—

"This is your cotton? Then no one has better a right to defend it. Take a musket and stand in the ranks." After peace was declared, Mullanphy dug out his cotton and cleared $1,000,000 on it in the Liverpool market.[27]

The first record of a trading deal on the site of St. Louis was in the digging of the first cellars in the town. A group of the Missouris were drawn down to the site of the new town in search of aid from the white men, and Auguste Chouteau had the squaws dig the cellars for the houses he was building.

Brackenridge says that the squaws were paid in beads and ornaments, but Chouteau's diary says he gave them vermillion, awls and verdigris.[28]

Probably the most noted merchant of the day of American birth was General William Ashley, who emigrated to this

[26]This Robert Campbell was an uncle of Dr. W. L. Campbell, of Kansas City, who is a member of the Missouri Valley Historical Society.

[27]*Ibid.*, 188.

[28]*Ibid.*, p. 69.

territory from Virginia in 1803. He was also one of the most noted of the fur traders and established the trade with Utah in 1824.

Early St. Louis is thus described by one author:

"When this territory was ceded in 1804 in St. Louis there were one bakery, two taverns, three blacksmiths, two mills and one doctor. The settlement was well supplied with merchants who held their goods at exorbitant prices. Coffee and sugar each at $2 per pound.... Stores of the day were commonly stored in family homes and were a general assortment from fish hooks to lexicons."[29]

"No scales were in use in St. Louis prior to 1831.... Coal was sold by the bushel or wagon load. And hay by the load—so much for so much."[30]

Another author writing of the fur trade, shows the great importance of this industry to St. Louis:

"The average annual value of the furs collected in St. Louis for fifteen successive years (ending 1804) is stated to have been $203,750.00. James Pursley in 1802 was first hunter and trapper, and probably the first American who traversed the great plains between the United States and New Mexico. The Missouri Fur Company with a capital of $40,000.00 was organized in this city (St. Louis) in 1808, and the hunters in its employ were the first who pitched their camps on the waters of the Oregon. That company was dissolved in 1812. Between the years 1824 and 1827 General Ashley and his men sent to St. Louis furs to the value of $180,000. The annual value of the fur trade for forty years (1804-1847) has averaged from two to three hundred thousand dollars, and hence an important item in the growth of St. Louis."[31]

Major Amos Stoddard was the American representative in the formal transfer of Upper Louisiana at St. Louis in 1804, and was the first American commandant at that place. He wrote of his impressions of this new country and his book is valuable for its reliable information. He wrote in part:

"Agriculture and industry, by which wealth is at first accumulated in new regions, necessarily preceedes commerce, and are the foundations of it."[32]

[29]Shepard's *History of St. Louis*, p. 35.
[30]*Ibid.*, *p.* 113.
[31]Perkin's, *Annals of the West*, pp. 807f.
[32]Stoddard, *Sketches of Louisiana*, p. 293.

"Had Indian commerce been wholly prohibited, or confided to a few exclusive traders only, and the settlers generally restricted to agriculture, and to the acquisition of raw materials for foreign markets, the power of France in America would have been much more formidable than it was."[33]

The following great industrial activities were sources of revenue in early Missouri history: mining, Indian fur trade, frontier military posts, Mexican trade, outfitting Western expeditions. Thirty years later, in 1848, came the California gold rush.

Beltrami wrote in 1828....."The trade of St. Louis is prodigiously increased. The merchandise it furnishes to the traders with the Indians to the north and west in exchange for furs, which are almost all sent hither—the provisions with which it supplies all the garrisons and new settlements over the whole extent of this vast country—are sources of great profit, as well as of constant employment for all classes."

In the first decade of the nineteenth century Auguste Chouteau was the richest man in St. Louis. His taxes were $87.42, altho the rate of assessment seems to have been only one-half cent on the dollar, and total exemptions on some classes of property.[34] Bartholomew Berthold was called the most finished and accomplished merchant of his day in St. Louis.[35] Berthold, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., John Pierre Cabanne and Bernard Pratte became connected with John Jacob Astor as partners in trade, under the name of the American Fur Company. They all made large sums of money.[36]

I want to call attention to Hon. Wm. P. Borland's masterful speech in the House of Representatives, May 22nd, 1911, on "Missouri the Mother of Empires," and I urge also that one read and preserve that splendid address of former Governor Herbert S. Hadley before the meeting of the Missouri Valley Historical Society in Kansas City, Missouri, April 19, 1913.

No record of the Missouri Merchant One Hundred Years Ago is complete without reference to that great artery of

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 295.
[34] *Scharf*, I, 193.
[35] *Ibid.*, 196 fn.
[36] *Ibid.*

trade, the Sante Fe Trail. The town of Franklin in Howard county was the cradle of the Sante Fe Trail, which was made up so largely of Missouri merchants. This work really began in 1819, and when a yearly record began to be kept of this trade, in 1822, we find that that year the merchandise amounted to 15,000 pounds; in 1828, 150,000 pounds, 100 wagons and 200 men; in 1831, 250,000 pounds, 130 wagons and 320 men; in 1843, 450,000 pounds, 230 wagons and 320 men. The classic authority on the Sante Fe Trail and the trade development is found in the book published in 1844 in New York and London, by Dr. Josiah Gregg, and is said to be the foundation of every work on this subject since its appearance.

Senator Benton in his *Thirty Years View* speaks highly of Col. James Magoffin, who was a great merchant and lived at one time at Independence. He aided the United States Government in the Doniphan expedition, and it was through his work and diplomacy with the Mexican authorities that New Mexico became United States territory without the shedding of blood. Benton said that he wished posterity to know the sacrifices made by Magoffin in the interest of his country.

The tale of the origin of the Oregon Trail, beginning in 1808, is amost like that of the Sante Fe Trail. They were both the most direct and available routes between trade centers and starting from the Missouri River.[87]

I will close with an extract from Col. D. C. Allen's paper on "The Bonnet Show at Big Shoal Creek Meeting House, Clay County, Missouri." Col. Allen is eighty-three years old and lives at Liberty, Missouri. This paper is recorded in the archives of the Missouri Valley Historical Society.

"The beginnings of Liberty (Clay county) were in 1821 and, until after the building of Weston and Platte City, and even somewhat later, was the center of trade and fashion in all the surrounding country north of the Missouri River. In the county it maintained its pre-eminence in a degree until Kansas City assumed importance and trade was attracted thither. Here was the town, one can see, for a period almost the only town in the

[87] Wm. E. Connelley, *Kansas and Kansans*.

county, where ladies could purchase fine goods, fashionable bonnets, etc., in the springtime.

"The first settlers in Clay county—far back in 1819 and the early twenties—could have hauled in their wagons but little beyond absolute necessities. Finery could not have been largely considered. The slow and laborious navigation of the Missouri River by keel boats added something, but not much, to the comforts and convenience of the people.

"But, after Long's Expedition up the Missouri River in 1819 by steamboat, its navigation by steam began to develop. By 1826 it assumed something like regularity. Allen's landing three and one-half miles south of Liberty was established in 1825. At once on the beginning of steam navigation of the River, the merchants of Liberty began to purchase for local trade fine goods, bonnets and the like in Philadelphia and their fine groceries in Baltimore. This continued for a number of years. Merchants left Liberty for the east to make their spring and summer purchases early in February. Their purchases began to arrive in Liberty during the latter part of March, or the forepart of April. The stores in Liberty thus became centers of attraction for the ladies, old and young, in Clay and the surrounding country. The spring bonnets! The spring bonnets! It was a race with all the girls for the first pick of the new bonnets.

"Mr. W. S. Embree (now in his ninety-sixth year) says the annual bonnet show at the Big Shoal Church was in existence prior to 1835. It could not well have had a beginning until fine goods, above all spring bonnets, could be transported up the Missouri River and displayed in the store of Liberty. The origin, then, of the bonnet show was near 1826. Then, and for many years later, there was no church in Clay County which attracted so many persons to its religious service, particularly on the Second Sunday in May, the annual exhibition of the spring bonnet show, as did the Big Shoal Meeting House, the Church of the Primitive Baptists.

"During all those years it was the fashionable church of Clay county. The second Sunday in May was its pre-eminent day in the year. Nature, commerce, and social life, here in Clay county were in harmony. The second Sunday in May is in the midst of the most flowery and delightful part of the spring. Nothing could be more natural than that the belles and beaux of all the surrounding country should instinctively flock to the Big Shoal Meeting House at the great annual meeting on the second Sunday in May to see and chat with each other. By that time the ladies, young and old, would have secured their new spring bonnets and dresses. The girls could display their youthful charms to the

very best advantage. The side of the church allotted to the ladies would be a mass of colors, topped by a gorgeous array of spring bonnets. Some person of happy thought and good taste, some phrase maker, seeing the gaily attired mass of femininity, conceived and gave expression to the term "bonnet show." It took hold firmly in the minds of the people and holds until this day."

EARLY DAYS ON GRAND RIVER AND THE MORMON WAR.

ROLLIN J. BRITTON.*

FIRST ARTICLE.

*The following story of the Early Days on Grand River and the Mormon War is believed by the compiler to be authentic history. In its preparation free use has been made of public records and documents and of the writings of Joseph Smith, Jr., Major Joseph H. McGee, Lyman Wight, Major Reburn S. Holcombe, James H. Hunt, Heman C. Smith and others.

Much personal assistance has been rendered the compiler by Rev. Frank R. Gillihan, formerly of Gallatin, Mo.; W. O. Tague, Circuit Clerk of Daviess County, Mo.; Heman C. Smith, historian of the Re-Organized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints; Herbert F. McDougal, litterateur; Col. Boyd Dudley, of Gallatin, Mo.; and Wm. R. Handy, of Gallatin, Mo.; while the task of putting the manuscript into shape for the printer has devolved upon Mrs. Mabel Andersen of Independence, Missouri, whose faithful labor in the interest of history has made this publication possible.—The Author.

The white man first entered that part of the Grand River Country in Missouri now known as Daviess county in 1830. The only semblance to towns that he found therein were certain Indian camps, the last one of which passed away in 1834, when the Indians allowed the embers to die out in the great camp fire at the head of Auberry Grove, north of the site of the present town of Jamesport.

In the autumn of 1831 Robert P. Peniston, Sr., moved his family and slaves, among the latter being Jacob and Henry Peniston, from Kentucky to Missouri; the family remained in lower Ray county that winter, while William P. Peniston, the eldest son, accompanied by the two slaves, Jacob and Henry, and the wife of Henry, pushed on to the Grand River Country and camped on Splawn's Ridge, where they builded cabins for the family that came on in the spring of 1832, bringing Theodore Peniston, as well, with them.

The Black Hawk war was then in progress, and at its close in 1832 many of those who had been ranging the country as soldiers, were so well pleased with the Grand River Country that they concluded to settle in what is now Daviess county.

Among these was Milford Donaho, who brought his family from Ray county and settled in or near Auberry Grove. Major Joseph H. McGee described Donaho as follows: "He was one of those rare geniuses seldom found except in a new country. As a mechanic he was confined to no one trade. He was a blacksmith, gunsmith, wagon-maker, house carpenter and millwright; and though he excelled in none, he was good in all; some of the best target rifles ever used in the Grand River Country were of his make."

FOUNDING OF MILL PORT AND GALLATIN.

Robert P. Peniston, Sr., being the most prosperous man in a financial way on Grand River was urged by the settlers to build a horse mill for the grinding of corn, to which the rest of the community would pay tribute and Mr. Peniston employed Milford Donaho to erect such a mill on the Peniston land. The mill was built of logs and timbers scored and hewed by Donaho and Jacob Peniston; the latter was famous as an ax man. The burs for the mill were made by Donaho from boulders found on the prairie and were fashioned with tools that Donaho made in his blacksmith shop.

That mill was a great success and it remained the center of the milling industry on Grand River for twelve or fifteen years. Many settlers were attracted by it and a town site was surveyed and platted and Mill Port thus became the first town in that part of the Grand River Country and was getting along famously when Daviess county was organized in 1836. Its business houses relieved the settlers from the need of going to Missouri River points for supplies. Its sign boards bore the names of John A. Williams, grocer; Milford Donaho, blacksmith; Jacobs and Lomax, merchants; Worthington & McKinney, merchants; Morin and Compton, merchants and Jesse Adamson, grocer.

Theodore Peniston became the first sailor to clear the port, when he took a dug-out load of honey, beeswax, skins, etc., down Grand River to its junction with the Missouri, where he disposed of his little cargo. William P. Peniston

built and took out the first flat boat. He sailed with his flat boat load all the way to St. Louis.

Mill Port was on the east side of Grand River, at what is still known, perhaps, as the Peniston Ford. In 1837 the town of Gallatin was platted just three miles west of Mill Port. The latter had been ambitious to become the county seat of Daviess county, but Gallatin was awarded the coveted honor and with the ascendency of Gallatin, Mill Port rapidly faded away and few people now in Daviess county know that such a pioneer town ever existed.

FOUNDING OF ADAM-ONDI-AHMAN AND FAR WEST.

The same year that Gallatin was platted, 1837, there came to Daviess County a very remarkable man in the person of Lyman Wight, who settled upon Grand River and founded a town four miles south and one-half mile west of Gallatin, the town site being located on the West half (½) of the Southwest quarter (¼) of Section Thirty (30), Township Sixty (60), Range Twenty-seven (27). Lyman Wight came originally from the City of New York, where he served in the War of 1812, but his remarkable career of sufferings and achievements for his religious faith commenced with his baptism into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints at Warrensville, Ohio, by Elder Parley P. Pratt on November 14, 1830. He was ordained an Elder on November 20, 1830, and in the June conference following was ordained a high priest and shortly afterward entered upon the ministry at Independence, Missouri. His experiences for the next seven or eight years are summed up in a petition filed by him in 1839 and which is still on file in the archives at Washington, D. C., which reads as follows:

"The petition of Lyman Wight most humbly showeth that petitioner removed from the State of Ohio to the State of Missouri, in the year 1832 (1831), where I hoped to live in peace, but after toiling and undergoing all the hardships of a new country for two years, and suffering many privations of the comforts of life, I was assailed by a lawless mob, and was driven from my house in Jackson County to Clay County; my crops and all other prop-

erty I possessed were taken from me, except a small part of household furniture. I stayed in Clay County for upwards of two years, when I was again assailed by a mob, who said I must deny my sentiments of religion or move from that County, but rather than deny my religion or be put to death, I disposed of my property at a low rate, and removed my family to Davis (Daviess) County, located myself on Grand River, made an improvement, gained to myself a preemption right, on which a small town was laid off; it was then worth to me at least ten thousand dollars. But sometime in the month of September last I was ordered to leave my possessions again, and this by a mob, which was got up by Sashel Wood (a presbyterian preacher), and Doctor Craven (who have since entered my lands) without any other consideration than to get me chained up in prison and drive my family from the State without food and raiment to make them comfortable; they kept me in prison for six months, until they succeeded in driving every man, women and child (who professed the same religion that I did) out of the State, except those whom they murdered in the State, although they have never been able to substantiate the first accusation against me, yet my sufferings for seven years have been more severe than tongue can tell, or pen write."

However, Lyman Wight was not the only party who had to do with the founding and naming of the town that was thus located upon his land and which town was to become historic in the annals of his faith. The religious organization in which Lyman Wight had membership, commonly known as the Mormon Church, located its administration headquarters in Caldwell county, Missouri, in 1837 at the town founded by it and named Far West. It was at this town of Far West that Joseph Smith, Jr., the prophet, declared a revelation on April 26, 1838, which revelation definitely fixed the name of the church and also directed the prophet to do certain things that resulted in making history for Lyman Wight's town. That revelation was as follows:

Revelation given at Far West, April 26, 1838, making Known the Will of God Concerning the Building up of this Place, and of The Lord's House, etc:

"Verily thus saith the Lord unto you, my servant, Joseph Smith, Jr., and also my servant Sidney Rigdon, and also my servant Hyrum Smith, and your counselors who are and shall be appointed hereafter; and also unto you my servant, Edward Partridge, and his counselors, and also unto my faithful servants

who are of the High Council of my church in Zion (for thus it shall be called), and unto all the Elders and people of my church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, scattered abroad in all the world; for this shall my church be called in the last days, even the church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Verily I say unto you all, Arise and shine forth, that thy light may be a standard for the Nations, and that the gathering together upon the land of Zion and upon her stakes may be for a defense, and for a refuge from the storms, and from wrath when it shall be poured out without mixture upon the whole earth. Let the city, Far West, be a holy and consecrated land unto me, and it shall be called most holy, for the ground upon which thou standeth is holy; therefore I command you to build an house unto me, for gathering together of my saints, that they may worship me; and let there be a beginning of this work, and a foundation, and a preparatory work, this following summer, and let the beginning be made on the 4th day of July next and from that time forth let my people labor diligently to build an house unto my name, and in one year from this day let them recommence laying the foundation of my house; thus let them from that time forth labor diligently until it shall be finished from the corner stone thereof unto the top thereof, until there shall not anything remain that is not finished.

"Verily I say unto you, let not my servant Joseph, neither my servant Sidney, neither my servant Hyrum, get in debt any more for the building of an house unto my name; but let a house be built unto my name according to the pattern which I will show unto them. And if my people build it not according to the pattern which I will show unto their Presidency, I will not accept it at their hands; but if my people do build it according to the pattern which I shall show unto their Presidency, even my servant Joseph and his counselors, then I will accept it at the hands of my people. And, again, verily I say unto you. It is my will that the city of Far West should be built up speedily by the gathering of my saints, and also that other places should be appointed for stakes in the regions round about, as they shall be manifest unto my servant Joseph from time to time; for behold I will be with him, and I will sanctify him before the people, for unto him, have I given the keys of this kingdom and ministry. Even so. Amen." (*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. p. 147, 148.)

Pursuant to this revelation, the prophet proceeded to the appointment of other places for stakes in the region round about. His exploring trip northwards from Far West as told by himself in *The History of the Church* is as follows:

"Friday, May 18th, 1838, I left Far West in company with Sidney Rigdon, T. B. Marsh, D. W. Patten, Bishop Partridge, E. Higbee, S. Carter, Alanson Ripley and many others for the purpose of visiting the north country, and laying off a stake of Zion, making locations, and laying claims to facilitate the gathering of the Saints, and for the benefit of the poor, in upbuilding the Church of God. We traveled to the mouth of Honey Creek, which is a tributary of Grand River, where we camped for the night. We passed a beautiful country of land, a majority of which is prairie (untimbered land), and thickly covered with grass and weeds, among which is plenty of game; such as deer, turkey, hen, elk, etc. We discovered a large black wolf, and my dog gave him chase, but he outran us.

We have nothing to fear in camping out, except the rattlesnake, which is natural to this country, though not very numerous. We turned our horses loose and let them feed on the prairie.

Saturday 19th, This morning we struck our tents and formed a line of march, crossing Grand River at the mouth of Honey Creek and Nelson's Ferry. Grand River is a large, beautiful, deep, and rapid stream during the high waters of spring, and will undoubtedly admit of steam boat navigation and other water craft; and at the mouth of Honey Creek are a splendid harbor and good landing. We pursued our course up the river, mostly in the timber, about eighteen miles, when we arrived at Colonel Lyman Wight's, who lives at the foot of Tower Hill (a name I gave it in consequence of the remains of an old Nephite altar or tower), where we camped for the Sabbath.

In the afternoon, I went up the river about half a mile to Wight's Ferry, accompanied by President Ridgon and my clerk, George W. Robinson, for the purpose of selecting and laying claim to a city plat near said ferry in Daviess County, Township 60, Ranges 27 and 28, and Sections 25, 36, 31 and 30, which the brethren called Spring Hill: *but by the mouth of the Lord it was named Adam-ondi-Ahman, because said he, it is the place where Adam shall come to visit his people, or the Ancient of Days shall sit, as spoken of by Daniel the Prophet.*";

Lyman Wight also wrote about this occasion as follows:

"About June, Joseph Smith, together with many others of the principal men of the church, came to my house, and taking a view of the large bottom in the bend of the river, and the beautiful prairies on the bluffs, came to the conclusion, that it would be a handsome situation for a town. We, therefore, commenced surveying and laying off town lots, and locating government lands for many miles north of this place. This beautiful country with

its flattering prospects drew in floods of emigrants. I had not less than thirty comers and goers through the day during the three summer months, and up to the last mentioned date (last of October) there were upwards of two hundred houses built in this town, and also about forty families living in their wagons."

On June 28, 1838 a stake was organized here of which the following minutes were published:

"Adam-ondi-Ahman, Missouri, Daviess county, June 28, 1838.

A conference of Elders and members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints was held in this place this day, for the purpose of organizing this stake of Zion, called Adam-ondi-Ahman.

The meeting convened at ten o'clock A. M. in the grove near the house of Elder Lyman Wight.

President Joseph Smith, Jr., was called to the chair, who explained the object of the meeting which was to organize a Presidency and High Council, to preside over this stake of Zion, and attend to the affairs of the Church in Daviess County.

It was then motioned, seconded and carried by the unanimous voice of the assembly, that President John Smith should act as President of the Stake of Adam-ondi-Ahman.

Reynolds Cahoon was unanimously chosen first Counselor, and Lyman Wight second Counselor.

After prayer the President's ordained Elder Wight as second counselor.

Vinson Knight was chosen acting bishop pro tempore, by the unanimous voice of the assembly.

President John Smith then proceeded to organize the High Council.

The counselors were chosen according to the following order, by a unanimous vote; John Lemon, 1st; Daniel Stanton, 2nd; Mayhew Hillman, 3rd; Daniel Carter, 4th; Isaac Perry, 5th; Harrison Sagers, 6th; Alanson Brown, 7th; Thomas Gordon, 8th; Lorenzo D. Barnes, 9th; George A. Smith, 10th; Harvey Olmstead, 11th; Ezra Thayer, 12th.

After the ordination of the Counselors, who had not previously been ordained to the high priesthood, President Joseph Smith, Jr., made remarks by way of charge to the Presidents and Counselors, instructing them in the duties of their callings, and the responsibility of their stations, exhorting them to be cautious and deliberate in all their councils, and to be careful and act in righteousness in all things.

President John Smith, R. Cahoon, and L. Wight then made some remarks.

Lorenzo D. Barnes was unanimously chosen clerk of this council and stake, and after singing the well-known hymn, Adam-ondi-Ahman, the meeting closed by prayer by President Cahoon, and a benediction by President Joseph Smith, Jr.

Lorenzo D. Barnes,
Isaac Perry, Clerks.

The well known hymn above referred to was perhaps sung for the first time at the dedication of the temple at Kirtland, Ohio, in 1836. Its author is unknown, but the words are as follows:

"This Earth was once a garden place,
With all her glories common;
And men did live a holy race,
And worship Jesus face to face,
In Adam-ondi-Ahman.

We read that Enoch walked with God,
Above the pow'r of Mammon;
While Zion spread herself abroad,
And Saints and angels sang aloud
In Adam-ondi-Ahman.

Her land was good and greatly blest,
Beyond old Israel's Canaan;
Her fame was known from East to West;
Her peace was great, and pure the rest
Of Adam-ondi-Ahman.

Hosanna to such days to come—
The savior's second coming—
When all the Earth in glorious bloom,
Affords the saints a holy home,
Like Adam-ondi-Ahman."

MORMAN TROUBLE IN DAVIESS COUNTY.

So auspiciously did the career of Adam-ondi-Ahman begin that Joseph H. McGee informs us that it had over five hundred inhabitants when Gallatin had but four houses, and it threatened to rival Far West and probably would have done so had not a state of civil strife ensued that resulted in the expulsion of all of the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints from the State of Missouri.

This state of war had its inception in a fight at the general election held in Gallatin on August 6, 1838, on which occasion an attempt was made to keep the "Mormons" from voting. Major Joseph H. McGee witnessed that election fight and he tells the story in the following words:

"My first visit to Gallatin was in 1838, August 6th. My father and I came to town to attend the general election held on that day. This proved to be a historical day as the great knock down between the Mormons and the Missourians took place on that day. I had been with my father at many an election in Ohio, but I never saw him so peaceably inclined at an election before.

"There was a big pile of house logs piled up in front of the little cabin where they were voting. My father and I climbed to the very top of that pile of logs and witnessed the whole battle. I had witnessed many knock downs in my time, but none on so grand a scale. Pistols were not used. Rocks and clubs were in demand, and an occasional butcher knife slipped in. Men dropped on all sides.

"I saw one poor Mormon trying to make his escape from two Missourians who were pursuing him. He had a butcher knife sticking between his shoulders. They would no doubt have succeeded in capturing him had not another Mormon by the name of John L. Butler seized a big club and rushing in between them and their victim dealt them such blows that he felled them both to the earth and allowed the Mormon, whose name was Murphy, to escape. The Missourians proved victorious and the Mormons had to leave. After the fight was over my father and I got into our wagon and returned home. This was my first debut in Gallatin. All the Mormons who took part in this fight left the county that night and moved their families to Far West in Caldwell County—this being the stronghold of the Mormons."

A more complete story of this fight from the pen of Joseph Smith, Jr. (The Prophet,) has been preserved to us in the following words:

"Some two weeks previous to this Judge Morin, who lived at Millport, informed John D. Lee and Levi Stewart that it was determined by the mob to prevent the "Mormons" from voting at the election on the sixth day of August, and thereby elect Colonel William P. Peniston, who led the mob in Clay County. He also advised them to go prepared for an attack, to stand their ground and have their rights.

"The brethren hoping better things gave little heed to Judge Morin's friendly counsel, and repaired to the polls at Gallatin, the shire town of Daviess County, without weapons. About eleven o'clock A. M. William P. Peniston ascended the head of a barrel and harrangued the electors for the purpose of exciting them against the "Mormons," saying that the "Mormon" leaders were a set of horse thieves, liars, counterfeiters, etc., and you know they profess to heal the sick, cast out devils, etc.; and you know that is a d— lie; that the members of the church were dupes, and not too good to take a false oath on any common occasion; that they would steal, and he did not conceive property safe where they were; that he was opposed to their settling there; and if they suffered the "Mormons" to vote, the people would soon lose their suffrage; and said he, addressing the saints, I headed a mob to drive you out of Clay County, and would not prevent your being mobbed now; when Richard (called Dick) Welding, the mob bully, just drunk enough for the occasion, began a discussion with Brother Samuel Brown by saying; The Mormons were not allowed to vote in Clay County, no more than the d— negroes, and attempted to strike Brown, who gradually retreated, parrying the blow with his umbrella, while Welding continued to press upon him, calling him a ——— liar, etc., and attempting to repeat the blow on Brown.

"Perry Durphy attempted to suppress the difficulty by holding Dick's arm, when five or six of the mobbers seized Durphy and commenced beating him with clubs, boards, etc., and crying "Kill him, kill him, —— —— him, kill him." When a general scuffle commenced with fists and clubs, the mobbers being about ten to one of the saints. Abraham Nelson was knocked down and had his clothes torn off and while trying to get up was attacked again, when his brother Hyram Nelson, ran in amongst them and knocked the mobbers down with the butt of his whip. Riley Stewart struck Dick Welding on the head which brought him to the ground. The mob cried out, "Dick Welding's dead, by —; who killed Dick?" And they fell upon Riley, knocked him down, kicked him, and hallowed, "Kill him, — — him, kill him; shoot him, by —;" and would have killed him, had not John L. Butler sprung in amongst them and knocked them down. During about five minutes it was one continued knock down, when the mob dispersed to get firearms. Very few of the brethren voted. Riley, escaping across the river, had his wounds dressed and returned home. Butler called the brethren together and made a speech saying, "We are American Citizens; our fathers fought for their liberty, and we will maintain the same principles, etc." When the authorities of the county came to them and requested them to

withdraw, stating that it was a premeditated thing to prevent the "Mormons" voting.

"The brethren held a council about one fourth of a mile out of town where they saw mobbing recruits coming in, in small parties from five and to twenty-five in number, armed with clubs, pistols, dirks, knives, and some guns, cursing and swearing. The brethren not having arms, thought it wisdom to return to their farms, collect their families and hide them in a thicket of hazel bush, which they did, and stood sentry around them through the night, while the women and children lay on the ground in the rain.

"Tuesday morning, 7th. A report came to Far West, by way of those not belonging to the church, that at the election at Gallatin yesterday two or three of our brethren were killed by the Missourians, and left upon the ground, and not suffered to be interred; that the brethren were prevented from voting, and a majority of the inhabitants of Daviess County were determined to drive the saints from the county.

"On hearing this report I started for Gallatin to assist the brethren, accompanied by President Rigdon, Brother Hyrum Smith and fifteen or twenty others, who were armed for their own protection, and the command was given to George W. Robinson.

"On our way we were joined by the brethren from different parts of the country some of whom were attacked by the mob, but we found some of the brethren who had been mobbed at Gallatin, with others, waiting for our counsel. Here we received the cheering intelligence that none of the brethren were killed, although several were badly wounded.

"From the best information about one hundred and fifty Missourians warred against from six to twelve of or brethren, who fought like lions. Several Missourians had their skulls cracked. Blessed be the memory of those few brethren who contended so strenuously for their constitutional rights and religious freedom, against such an overwhelming force of desperadoes.

"*Wednesday, 8th.* After spending the night in counsel at Colonel Wight's I rode out with some of the brethren to view the situation of affairs in the region, and, among others called on Adam Black, Justice of the Peace and Judge elect of Daviess County, who had some time previous sold his farm to Brother Vinson Knight, and received part pay according to agreement, and afterwards united himself with a band of mobbers to drive the saints from and prevent their settling in Daviess County. On interrogation he confessed what he had done, and in consequence of this violation of his oath as magistrate we asked him to give us some satisfaction so that we might know whether he was our friend or enemy, whether

he would administer the law in justice; and politely requested him to sign an agreement of peace. But being jealous, he would not sign it, but said he would write one himself to our satisfaction, and sign it, which he did ,as follows:

'I, Adam Black, a Justice of the Peace of Daviess County, do hereby Sertify to the people coled Mormin, that he is bound to support the constitution of this State, and of the United State, and he is not attached to any mob, nor will not attach himself to any such people, and so long as they will not molest me, I will not molest them. This the 8th day of August, 1838.

Adam Black, J. P.'

"Hoping he would abide his own decision and support the law, we left him in peace, and returned to Colonel Wight's at Adam-ondi-Ahman.

"In the evening some of the citizens from Millport called on us, and we agreed to meet some of the principal men of the county in council at Adam-ondi-Ahman the next day at twelve o'clock.

"The Committee assembled at Adam-ondi-Ahman at twelve according to previous appointment; viz: on the part of citizens, Joseph Morin, Senator Elect; John Williams, representative elect; James B. Turner, clerk of the Circuit Court, and others; on the part of the saints, Lyman Wight, Vinson Knight, John Smith, Reynolds Cahoon, and others. At this meeting both parties entered into a covenant of peace, to preserve each other's rights, and stand in their defense; that if men should do wrong, neither party should uphold them or endeavor to screen them from justice, but deliver up all offenders to be dealt with according to law and justice. The assembly dispersed on these friendly terms, myself and friends returning to Far West, where we arrived about midnight and found all quiet.

"The spirit of moberacy continued to stalk abroad, notwithstanding all our treaties of peace, as will be seen by the following affidavit:

'State of Missouri, Ray County.

Personally appeared before me, the undersigned, Judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit, William P. Peniston, and makes oath that he has good reason to believe and that he verily does believe, that there is now collected and embodied in the County of Daviess, a large body of armed men, whose movements and conduct are of a highly insurrectionary and unlawful character; that they consist of about five hundred men, and that they, or part of them, to the number of one hundred and twenty, have committed violence against Adam Black, by surrounding his house and taking him in a violent manner and subjecting him to great indignities, by forcing him under threats

of immediate death to sign a paper writing of a very disgraceful character, and by threatening to do the same to all the old settlers and citizens of Daviess County; and that they have, as a collected and armed body, threatened to put to instant death this affiant on sight; and that he verily believes they will accomplish that act without they are prevented; and also they have threatened the same to William Bowman and others; and this affiant states that he verily believes all the above facts to be true, and that the body of men now assembled do intend to commit great violence to many of the citizens of Daviess County, and that they have already done so to Adam Black; and this affiant verily believes, from information of others that Joseph Smith, Jr., and Lyman Wight are the leaders of this body of armed men, and the names of others there combined are not certainly known to the affiant and he further stated the fact to be that it is his opinion, and he verily believes that it is the object of this body of armed men to take vengeance for some injuries, or imaginary injuries done to some of their friends, and to intimidate and drive from the county all the old citizens, and possess themselves of their lands, or to force such as do not leave to come into their measures and submit to their dictation.

William P. Peniston.

Sworn to and subscribed, the 10 day of August 1838.

Austin A. King.

"The above was also sworn to by William Bowman, Wilson McKinney, and John Netherton, so it is that when Men's hearts become so hard and corrupt as to glory in devising, robbing, plundering, mobbing, and murdering innocent men, women, and children by wholesale, they will more readily swear to lies than speak the truth.

"At the time some of the brethren had removed with their families from the vicinity of Gallatin, to Diahman and Far West, for safety.

"*Saturday, 11th.* The morning I left Far West with my council and Elder Almon W. Babbitt, to visit the brethren on the forks of Grand River, who had come from Canada with Elder Babbitt, and settled at that place contrary to counsel.

"In the afternoon, after my departure, a committee from Ray County arrived at Far West to inquire into the proceedings of our society in going armed into Daviess County, complaint having been entered in Ray County by Adam Black, William P. Peniston, and others. The committee from Ray requested an interview with a committee of Caldwell, and a general meeting was called at the City Hall at six in the evening, when it was stated that they were assembled to take into consideration the doings of the citizens of

Ray County, wherein they have accused the 'Mormons' of this place of breaking the peace, in defending their rights and those of their brethren in the county of Daviess, and the meeting organized by appointing Bishop E. Partridge Chairman and George W. Robinson, Clerk.

'Resolved, 1st. That a Committee of seven be appointed to confer with the Committee from Ray.

Resolved, 2nd. That this Committee with their secretary be authorized to answer such questions as may be offered by the committee from Ray, and as are named in the document presented this meeting, purporting to be the preamble and resolutions of the citizen of Ray.

Resolved, 3rd. That whereas the document referred to has no date or signature, our Committee judge of the fact, and act accordingly.

Resolved, 4th. That our Committee report their proceedings to this meeting as soon as possible.

Edward Partridge, Chairman,
George W. Robinson, Clerk.'

"*Sunday, 12th.* I continued with the brethren at the forks of Grand River, offering such counsel as their situation required.

"*Monday, 13th.* I returned with my council to Far West. We were chased by some evil designing men, ten or twelve miles, but we eluded their grasp, when within about eight miles of home we met some brethren who had come to inform us that a writ had been issued by Judge King for my arrest and that of Lyman Wight, for attempting to defend our rights against the mob.

"*Thursday, 16th.* I spent principally at home. The Sheriff of Daviess, accompanied by Judge Morin, called and notified me that he had a writ for to take me to Daviess County on trial for visiting that county on the seventh instant.

"It had been currently reported that I would not be apprehended by legal process, and that I would not submit to the laws of the land; but I told the Sheriff that I calculated always to submit to the laws of our country, but I wished to be tried in my own county, as the citizens of Daviess County were highly exasperated at me, and that the laws of the country gave me this privilege. Upon hearing this the sheriff declined, serving the writ and said he would go to Richmond and see Judge King on the subject. I told him I would remain at home until his return.

"The sheriff returned from Richmond and found me at home (where I had remained during his absence) and informed me very gravely that I was out of his jurisdiction, and that he could not act in Caldwell, and retired." (*Millenial Star*, Vol. 16, pp. 222, 229-231.)

Shortly after the above occurred, Adam Black, Justice of the Peace above referred to, executed and filed with the State authorities the following affidavit:

"Stateof Missouri, } ss.
County of Daviess }

Before William Dryden, one of the Justices of the Peace in said county, personally came Adam Black, who being duly sworn according to law, deposeth and saith; That on or about the 8th day of August, 1838, in the County of Daviess, there came an armed force of men, said to be one hundred and fifty-four, to the best of my information, and surrounded his house and family and threatened him with instant death if he did not sign a certain instrument of writing, binding himself, as a Justice of the Peace for said County of Daviess, not to molest the people called Mormons; and threatened the lives of myself and other individuals, and did say they intended to make every citizen sign such obligation, and further said they intended to have satisfaction for abuse they had received on Monday previous, and they could not submit to the laws; and further saith; that from the best information and his own personal knowledge, that Andrew Ripley, George A. Smith, Ephriam Owens, Harvey Humstead, Hiram Nelson, A. Brown, John L. Butler, Cornelius Lott, John Wood, H. Redfield, Riley Stewart, James Whitaker, Andrew Thor, Amos Tubbs, Dr. Gourze and Abram Nelson, was guilty of aiding and abetting in committing and perpetrating the above offense.

Adam Black.

Sworn to and subscribed this the 28th day of August, 1838.
W. Dryden, Justice of the Peace of the County aforesaid."

On Sunday, September 2, 1838, Joseph Smith, Jr., sent for General David R. Atchison of Liberty, Missouri, who was in command of a division of the Missouri State Militia with the rank of Major General, and who was also one of the ablest lawyers in the state, in the hopes that his presence and advice at Far West would result in a cessation of the preparation for hostilities then going on in Daviess county. At the same time a letter was dispatched by Smith to Circuit Judge Austin A. King praying the latter to assist in putting down what "the prophet" termed "the mob" then collecting in Daviess county. General Atchison arrived in Far West

the next night and was employed, along with his partner Alexander W. Doniphan, as legal counsel by the Mormons.

The first Presidency of the Church at that time consisted of Joseph Smith, Jr., Sidney Rigdon and Hyrum Smith, and it is worthy of note that President Joseph Smith, Jr., and Sidney Rigdon commenced the study of law on Sept. 4, 1838, and that on the same date Joseph Smith, Jr., and Lyman Wight volunteered to surrender themselves for a preliminary hearing before Judge Austin A. King in Daviess county. Accordingly it was arranged that the preliminary hearing was to be conducted by Judge King at the farm residence of a Mr. Littlefield's in the Southern part of Daviess county, near the present site of Winston. On Wednesday, September 5, Joseph Smith executed the following affidavit:

"STATE OF MISSOURI, } SS.
CALDWELL COUNTY, }

"Before me, Elias Higbee, one of the Justices of the County Court, within and for the County of Caldwell aforesaid, personally came Joseph Smith, Jr., who, saith: That on the seventh day of August, 1838, being informed that an affray had taken place in Daviess County at the election in the town of Gallatin, in which two persons were killed and one person was badly wounded, and had fled to the woods to save his life; all of which were said to be persons belonging to the society of the Church of Latter Day Saints; and further, said informant stated that those persons who committed the outrage would not suffer the bodies of those who had been killed to be taken off the ground and buried.

"These reports, with others, one of which was that the saints had not the privilege of voting at the polls as other citizens; another was that those opposed to the saints were determined to drive them from Daviess County, and also that they were arming and strengthening their forces and preparing for battle; and that the saints were preparing and working ready to stand in self defense: these reports having excited the feelings of the citizens of Far West and vicinity, I was invited by Dr. Avard and some others to go out to Daviess County to the scene of these outrages; they having previously determined to go out and learn the facts concerning said reports.

"Accordingly some of the citizens, myself among the numbee went out, two, three and four in companies, as they got ready. The

reports and excitement continued until several of those small companies through the day were induced to follow the first, who were all eager to learn the facts concerning this matter. We arrived in the evening at the house of Lyman Wight about three miles from Gallatin, the scene of the reported outrages. Here we learned the truth concerning the said affray, which had been considerably exaggerated, yet there had been a serious outrage committed.

"We there learned that the mob was collected at Millport, to a considerable number; that Adam Black was at their head; and were to attack the saints the next day, at the place we then were, called Adam-ondi-Ahman. This report we were still inclined to believe might be true, as this Adam Black, who was said to be their leader, had been, but a few months before engaged in endeavoring to drive those of the society, who had settled in that vicinity, from the county. This had become notorious from the fact that said Black had personally ordered several of said society to leave the county.

"The next morning we dispatched a committee to said Black's to ascertain the truth of these reports, and to know what his intentions were, and as we understood he was a peace officer, we wished to know what we might expect from him. They reported that Mr. Black instead of giving them any assurance of peace insulted them and gave them no satisfaction. Being desirous of knowing the feelings of Mr. Black for myself, and being in want of good water, and understanding that there was none nearer than Mr. Black's spring, myself with several others mounted our horses and rode off to Mr. Black's fence.

"Dr. Avard, with one or two others who had rode ahead, went into Mr. Black's house; myself and some others went to the spring for water. I was shortly after sent for by Mr. Black and invited into the house, being introduced to Mr. Black by Dr. Avard. Mr. Black wished me to be seated. We then commenced a conversation on the subject of the late difficulties and present excitement. I found Mr. Black quite hostile in his feelings toward the Saints, but he assured us he did not belong to the mob, neither would he take any part with them; but said he was bound by his oath to support the constitution of the United States and the laws of the State of Missouri. Deponent then asked him if he would make said statement in writing so as to refute the arguments of those who had affirmed that he (Black) was one of the leaders of the mob. Mr. Black answered in the affirmative. Accordingly he did so, which writing is in possession of the deponent.

"The deponent further saith that no violence was offered to any individual in his presence or within his knowledge; and that no insulting language was given by either party, except on the part of

Mrs. Black, who, while Mr. Black was engaged in making out the above named writing (which he made with his own hand), gave to the deponent and others of this society highly insulting language and false accusations, which were calculated in their nature to greatly irritate, if possible, the feelings of the bystanders belonging to said society, in language like this: Being asked by the deponent if she knew anything in the "Mormon" people derogatory to the character of gentlemen, she answered in the negative, but said she did not know but that the object of their visit was to steal something from them. After Mr. Black had executed the writing deponent asked Mr. Black if he had any unfriendly feelings towards the deponent, and if he had not treated him genteelly. He answered in the affirmative. Deponent then took leave of said Black and repaired to the house of Lyman Wight. The next day we returned to Far West, and further this deponent saith not.

Joseph Smith, Jr.

Sworn to and subscribed this fifth day of September A. D. 1838.

Elias Higbee, J. C. C. C. C."

Judge King opened court for the preliminary hearing of Smith and Wight at the Littlefield home on September 6, but no testimony was taken and the causes were continued over till 10 o'clock the next morning. The hearings to be had at a Mr. Raglins some six or eight miles further south and within a half mile of the Caldwell county line. The court convened at Mr. Raglin's the next morning. William P. Peniston was the prosecutor, Adam Black was the sole witness for the State. The defense introduced the testimony of Dimick B. Huntington, Gideon Carter, Adam Lightner, and George W. Robinson. The result of the matter was that Joseph Smith, Jr., and Lyman Wight were bound over to court in a five hundred dollar bond.

A committee of inquiry from Chariton county arrived in Far West on September 8th and after listening to the statements made by General Atchison and the Presidency returned to their homes.

About this time it became known in Far West that a wagon-load of firearms was being transported from Richmond, Missouri, to Daviess county, and the Mormon Civil authorities in Far West concluded to intercept them, a writ was placed in the hands of William Allred, who with ten mounted men

surrounded the wagon and after placing John B. Comer, William L. McHaney and Allen Miller under arrest, brought the prisoners, with their wagon load of guns, into Far West. These men were held as prisoners till Sept. 12th on which date they were given a preliminary hearing in Far West and bound over for their appearance at Circuit Court,—John B. Comer to answer to a charge of "attempting to smuggle arms to a mob;" the other men being held as his accomplices—at least that is the statement made in the *History of the Church.*

The arrest of these three men created great excitement. The Saints petitioned the Governor of Missouri at once for protection, while the Missourians petitioned the Governor to drive all Mormons from the state.

On September 11, General Atchison in his military capacity ordered the militia to march immediately to the scene of excitement and insurrection. This order being given by Major General Atchison to his law partner Brigadier General Doniphan. The latter acted with alacrity as evidenced by the following report:

"Headquarters 1st Brigade, 3rd Division, Missouri,
Military Camp at Grand River.
September 15, 1838.

Major General David R. Atchison,
Commanding 3rd Division Missouri Militia.

Sir:

"In pursuance to your order dated 11th inst. I issued orders to Colonel William A. Dunn, Commanding the 28th Regiment, to raise four companies of mounted riflemen, consisting of fifty men each, also to Colonel Boulware commanding 70th regiment, to raise two companies of mounted riflemen, consisting each of like numbers, to start forthwith for service in the counties of Caldwell and Daviess.

"On the same day Colonel Dunn obtained the four companies of volunteers required from the 28th regiment, and on the morning of the 12th I took command in person and marched to the line of Caldwell, at which point I ordered the Colonels to march the regiments to the timber on Crooked River. I then started for Far West, the county seat of Caldwell, accompanied by my aid alone.

"On arriving at that place I found Comer, Miller and McHaney, the prisoners mentioned in your order. I demanded of the

guard who had them in confinement to deliver them over to me, which he promptly done. I also found that the guns that had been captured by the Sheriff and citizens of Caldwell had been distributed and placed in the hands of the soldiery and scattered over the country; I ordered them to be immediately collected and delivered up to me.

"I then sent an express to Colonel Dunn to march the regiment by daylight for that place, where he arrived about seven a. m., making forty miles since ten o'clock a. m. on the previous day.

"When my command arrived, the guns were delivered up, amounting to forty-two stand; three stand could not be produced, as they had probably gone to Daviess County. I sent these guns under a guard to your command in Ray County, together with the prisoner Comer; the other two being citizens of Daviess, I retained and brought with me to this county, and released them on parole of honor, as I conceived their detention illegal. At eight o'clock a. m. we took up the line of march and proceeded through Millport in Daviess County, thirty-seven miles from our former encampment, and arrived at the camp of the citizens of Daviess and other adjoining Counties, which amounted to between two and three hundred, as their commander, Dr. Austin of Carroll informed me. Your order requiring them to disperse, which had been forwarded in advance of my command, by your aid, James M. Hughes, was read to them, and they were required to disperse. They professed that their object for arming and collecting was solely for defense, but they were marching and counter marching guards out; and myself and others who approached the camp were taken to task and required to wait the approach of the sergeant of the guard. I had an interview with Dr. Austin, and his professions were all pacific. But they still continue in arms, marching and countermarching.

"I then proceeded with your aid, J. M. Hughes, and my aid Benjamin Holliday, to the Mormon encampment commanded by Colonel Wight. We held a conference with him, and he professed entire willingness to disband and surrender up to me every one of the Mormons accused of crime, and required in return that the hostile forces, collected by the other citizens of the county, should also disband. At the camp commanded by Dr. Austin I demanded the prisoner demanded in your order, who had been released on the evening after my arrival in their vicinity.

"I took up line of march and encamped in the direct road between the hostile encampments, where I have remained since, within about two and a half miles of Wight's Encampment, and sometimes, the other camp is nearer, and sometimes farther from me. I intend to occupy this position until your arrival, and deem it best to

and preserve peace and prevent an engagement between the parties if kept so for a few days they will doubtless disband without coercion. I have the honor to be,

Yours with respect,
A. W. Doniphan,
Brig. General 1st. Brigade,
3rd Division Missouri Militia."

(*Millenial Star*, Vol. 16, pp. 268-9.)

Subsequently Major General Atchison arrived and his report to Governor Boggs, the Commander-in-Chief, will show his views of the situation:

"Headquarters 3rd Division, Missouri Militia,
Grand River, Sept. 17, 1838.

To His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief:
Sir:

"I arrived at the County seat of this county, Daviess, on the evening of the 15th instant, with the troops raised from the militia of Ray County under the command of General Doniphan. In the same neighborhood I found from two to three hundred men in arms, principally from the counties of Livingston, Carroll, and Saline. These men were embodied under the protest of defending the citizens of Daviess County against the Mormons; and were operating under the orders of a Dr. Austin from Carroll County. The citizens of Daviess, or a large portion of them, residing on each side of Grand River, had left their farms and removed their families either to the adjoining counties or collected them together at a place called the Camp Ground. The whole county on the east side of Grand River appears to be deserted, with the exception of a few who are not so timid as their neighbors. The Mormons of Daviess County have also left their farms, and have encamped for safety at a place immediately on the east bank of Grand River, called Adam-ondi-Ahman. The numbers are supposed to be about two hundred and fifty men, citizens of Daviess County, and from fifty to one hundred men, citizens of Caldwell County. Both parties have been scouting through the country and occasionally taking prisoners and threatening and insulting each other; but as yet no blood has been shed. I have ordered all armed men from adjoining counties to repair to their homes; the Livingston County men and others to the amount of one hundred men have returned, and there remain now about one hundred and fifty who will, I am in hopes, return in a few days. I have been informed by the Mormons, that all of those who have been charged with a violation of the laws will be in today for trial; when that is done the troops under

my command will be no longer required in this county, if the citizens of other counties will return to their respective homes. I have proposed to leave two companies of fifty men each in this county and discharge the remainder of the troops; said two companies will remain for the preservation of order, until peace and confidence are restored. I also inclose to your Excellency the report of General Doniphan and I refer you for particulars to Major Rogers.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

D. R. Atchison,

Major-General 3rd Division

Missouri Militia."

(*Millenial Star*, Vol. 16, pp. 282-283.)

On the 18th, Governor Boggs, undoubtedly considering the force under Atchison too small, or considering the General too pacific in his measures, ordered the fourth division, under General S. D. Lucas, to the scene of trouble, there to co-operate with the forces under General Atchison. General Atchison again reported to the Governor as follows:

"Sir: The troops ordered out for the purpose of putting down the insurrection supposed to exist in the counties of Daviess and Caldwell were discharged on the 20th instant, with the exception of two companies of the Ray Militia, now stationed in the County of Daviess, under the command of Brigadier General Parks. It was deemed necessary in the state of excitement in that county that three companies should remain there for a short period longer, say some twenty days, until confidence and tranquility should be restored.

"All the offenders against the law in that county, against whom process was taken out, were arrested and brought before a court of inquiry, and recognized to appear at the Circuit Court. Mr. Thomas C. Berch attended to the prosecuting on the part of the State. The citizens of other counties who came in armed to the assistance of the citizens of Daviess County have dipersed and retired to their respective homes, and the Mormons have also returned to their homes; so that I consider the insurrection, for the present at least, at an end. From the best information I can get there are about two hundred and fifty Mormon families in Daviess County, nearly one-half of the population, and the whole of the Mormon forces in Daviess, Caldwell and the adjoining counties is estimated at from thirteen to fifteen hundred men, capable of bearing arms. The Mormons of Daviess County, as I stated in a former report, were encamped in a town called Adam-ondi-Ahman, and are headed by Lyman Wight, a bold, brave, skillful, and, I may add, a

desperate man: they appear to be acting on the defensive, and I must further add, gave up the offenders with a good deal of promptness. The arms taken by the Mormons, and prisoners, were also given up upon demand, with seeming cheerfulness."

(*Millenial Star*, Vol. 16, p. 294.)

On September 25, General Parks, who was left in command wrote the Governor as follows:

"Whatever may have been the disposition of the people called Mormons, before our arrival here, since we have made our appearance they have shown no disposition to resist the laws, or of hostile intentions. There has been so much prejudice and exaggeration concerned in this matter, that I found things entirely different from what I was prepared to expect. When we arrived here we found a large body of men from the counties adjoining armed and in the field for the purpose, as I learned, of assisting the people of this county against the Mormons, without being called out by the proper authorities.

"P. S. Since writing the above, I received information that if the committee do not agree, the determination of the Daviess County men is to drive the Mormons with powder and lead."

(*Millenial Star*, Vol. 16, p. 295.)

He wrote General Atchison on the same date, thus:

"I am happy to be able to state to you that the deep excitement existing between the parties has in a great degree ceased; and so far I have had no occasion to resort to force in assisting the constables. On tomorrow a committee from Daviess County meets a commitee of the Mormons at Adam-ondi-Ahman, to propose to them to buy or sell, and I expect to be there."

(*Millenial Star*, Vol. 16, p. 275.)

THE CAPITALS AND CAPITOLS OF MISSOURI.

JONAS VILES.

FIRST ARTICLE.

The approaching celebration of the centennial of Missouri's organization as a state and of her admission to the Union should naturally awake new interest in her history, while the completion of the new capitol at Jefferson City gives, among the minor topics in the State's development, a timely interest to the earlier capitals and capitols. This account of the location of the seat of government and of the buildings set apart for the organs of government will have, I believe, something more than a mere antiquarian interest and will throw some little light on the general development of the State.[1]

I. The French And Spanish Periods to 1804.

Until the autumn of 1765 there was no separate organization for the French settlements in the present State of Missouri, and therefore, no capital or capitol. Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis, the two French villages west of the Mississippi, where simply outposts of the more extensive settlements across the river and were under the rule of the French commandant at Fort Chatres. Great Britain, it is true, had in 1763 received from France all the French claims east of the Mississippi (except New Orleans), but it was October two years later before the British expedition succeeded in reaching this remote center of settlement and raised the British flag at Fort Chartres. The French commandant, Captain St. Ange de Bellerive, then transferred his soldiers to St. Louis and there set up his government.

[1] "Capital" in the United States is a term that may be defined as the place, almost invariably a town or city, where are located the organs of government of the nation, a state, or a territory—of a definite district with a distinct governmental organization. The "Capitol" is the building which is the center of governmental activity; if the various departments are not under one roof, the term is usually applied to the meeting place of the legislative body.

France, however, in 1762 had ceded New Orleans and her claims west of the Mississippi to Spain. Spain was even more dilatory than Great Britain in taking possession of her new domain. St. Ange continued in authority until 1770, when Don Pedro Piernas, the first of the Spanish Lieutenant Governors, reached St. Louis and took possession. Piernas continued the seat of government at St. Louis, which remained the capital of the Illinois country of upper Louisiana, as the Missouri settlements were called, throughout the Spanish Period.

St. Ange's choice of St. Louis, then, seems to have determined the location of the capital until the United States took control in 1804 or even until the state government was organized in 1820. In 1765 it may well have been an open question with St. Ange whether to set up his government in Ste. Genevieve or St. Louis. The former was much the older settlement and as yet the larger; it was also the headquarters for the lead miners on the Meramec and St. Francois. St. Genevieve, however, was located in the bottom lands while St. Louis was free from any encroachment by the river. The latter was a new settlement of only a year previous and was inhabited by traders. It perhaps offered more governmental problems, particularly as to land titles. The local tradition that the people of St. Louis invited St. Ange to come to them and then chose him as their ruler does not seem to be supported by any evidence.[2] But, as the future showed, St. Louis had a strategic position unrivalled in the middle west and in all probability St. Ange had some realization of its advantages.

Neither the French nor the Spanish erected a government building or capitol in St. Louis such as the famous "Cabildo" in New Orleans. As the government was a paternal despotism, with no participation on the part of the peo-

[2]It is true that the cession of trans-Mississippi Louisiana to Spain might have thrown some doubt on St. Ange's legal title to authority and so the general acceptance of his rule by the people is of some importance. But his position was legally no more anomalous than that of the French commandant at Fort Chartres across the river from 1763 to 1765.

ple, and as the supreme authority in all departments was vested in the lieutenant governor, his residence or headquarters may properly be described as the "capitol," as it was the center of all governmental activities. For some years under Spanish rule (until 1783) the lieutenant governor occupied the house built by Laclede in 1764, the governor and his family living in the upper part and the garrison being quartered in the basement. This house, the first built in St. Louis, was located in the block now bounded by First and Second and Walnut and Martin streets. In 1783 the lieutenant governor, Cruzat, moved diagonally across the street to the present southeast corner of Main and Walnut streets, to a stone house erected by Jean B. Martingy in 1768. This remained the government house or capital during the remainder of the Spanish period, and here on March 9, 1804, took place the formal transfer of Upper Louisiana to the United States.[3]

II. THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD, 1804-1820.

The establishment of an American government did not bring at once any considerable change. Captain Amos Stoddard, under the first or temporary act organizing the government of the Louisiana Purchase, succeeded to the powers of the Spanish lieutenant governor. He continued the seat of government at St. Louis and even used the old government house.[4] For a few months in 1804 and 1805, there was properly speaking no capital, for under the act of 1804 Missouri was attached to the Territory of Indiana, with its capital Vincennes. A separate territory of Louisiana was organized in 1805; in 1812 the name was changed to Missouri.

Without any positive legislation, designating the capital, General Wilkinson, the first territorial governor, took

[3] A full description of these houses with sketch of their later history may be found in a note by Francis A. Dillon in *J. T. Scharf, History of St. Louis, I. 139-140.* There are pictures of the Laclede house in *F. A. Billon, Annals o. St. Louis in its early Days, 243,* and in *L. Houck, History of Missouri* II, 14, of the second government house in *Houck, Missouri, II, 361.* Neither house is standing today.

[4] Billon, in Scharf; St. Louis, I. 140, note.

up his residence in St. Louis in 1805. In 1807 the Governor and Judges enacted that it should be the meeting place for the highest court of the territory;[5] and in 1812 Congress provided that the first legislature should meet at St. Louis. Positive legislation establishing the capital there seems to have been felt unnecessary; this location was taken for granted. The center of American settlement in 1804 was farther south, in the present counties of Cape Girardeau and Perry, but there was no town or village there until Jackson was founded in 1814[6]. St. Louis was growing steadily in population and wealth and was clearly the most important town. It was now passing through the transition from the old fashioned, comfortable and rather sleepy French village to the bustling western town. The change was not complete by 1820; French was still heard almost as commonly as English on the streets,[7] the Gazette printed many of its advertisements in French, and the substantial merchants were still largely of the old French families.

Captain Amos Stoddard, as has been pointed out, succeeded to the residence as well as to the powers of the Spanish Lieutenant Governor and ruled the district from the old government house until his authority expired September 30, 1804. Then the house passed to private uses. There seems to have been no other building during the territorial period which can properly be described as the capitol; no building where any integral part of the government was located with any permanence. Thruout the period the Executive power was vested in the Governor and the chief judicial power in a court of three judges, all appointed by the President, but the records do not disclose any public or private building regularly used by either department. Until 1812 the legislative power was vested in the governor and judges; in 1812 a territorial legislature was created, the lower house elective, the upper appointed by the President; in 1816 both

[5]But in the same year it was enacted that the May meeting should be at Ste. Genevieve.

[6]*Houck, Missouri, III. 168.*

[7]*Darby, Recollections, 5.*

houses were elective. But the various sessions of the territorial legislature were held in private houses or more commonly in taverns, and the Constitutional Convention of 1820 met in a "hotel."[8] It seems safe to say, then, that there was no capitol during the Territorial period.

III. THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION AND THE CAPITAL, 1820.

When in 1820 the Congress of the United States finally adopted The Missouri Compromise and passed the act enabling the people of Missouri to elect a constitutional convention, the people for the first time had a free hand in choosing the location of their capital. And a radical shifting of the centers of settlement in the five years previous was making St. Louis a less logical and satisfactory location. All thru the Provincial Period and the early years of the American regime the settlements had been for the most part along the Mississippi south of the Missouri, a relatively narrow strip with outlying settlements in the lead country about Potosi and Fredericktown; and in and around St. Charles, with a few adventurous pioneers farther up the Mississippi and the Missouri.[9] By 1820, however, fully a thirty per cent of the total population was to be found in the district on the Missouri in the central part of the territory known as the Booneslick country, and nearly one-half on the Missouri outside of St. Charles and St. Louis and on the Mississippi above the St. Charles settlements. The extension of settlement was very clearly to be along the great rivers, and especially along the Missouri. These newer sections could hardly look with favor at a location of the capital on the extreme eastern border at St. Louis.

This matter of the location of the permanent seat of government was evidently in the minds of the Booneslick people when the time came to elect delegates to the consti-

[8] For places of meeting of territorial courts and legislatures, see *Billon, Annals of St. Louis, 1804-1821, passim.*

[9] *Viles, Population and Extent of Settlement before 1804; in Mo. Hist Rev. V. No. 4., 189; Houck, Missouri, Vol. III.*

tutional convention. The Missouri Intelligencer, published at Franklin, contains many letters and references as to the desirability of a central location for the capital of the new state, so many that it was clearly one of the questions attracting general interest. There seems to have been a very definite apprehension that St. Louis would try to retain the capital and that in alliance with the older sections in the southeast, she might succeed. This apprehension was the reason for the support of the proposal to take advantage of the option in the enabling act permitting the Convention to order a new election on a revised apportionment of delegates based on the census of 1820.[10] Such a revision would add materially to the delegations from the newer districts and increase the support for a central location for the capital. When the Convention met, however, the Booneslick delegates found it impossible to carry out this plan because the census returns were not yet available; they decided also that it was unnecessary because they found no evidence that St. Louis would seek to secure the permanent seat of government or that there was any real objection to central location.[11]

The action of the Convention showed that they had accurately gauged the opinion of the delegates. The first draft of the section of the Constitution locating the capital, presented to the Convention on July 10, 1820, selected a point on the Missouri river within forty miles of the mouth of the Osage river; it provided also for a Commission to locate the actual site.[12] With the exception of a minor detail this was in agreement in content with Article X of the Constitution as adopted. The only important amendment proposed at this meeting was presented by Mr. Evans of Cape Girardeau that the capital should be St. Louis until 1870, provided there shall be built there without expense to the state a state house worth at least thirty thousand dollars and a state prison. If St. Louis did not fulfill these conditions, then the capital was to be on the Missouri within thirty miles of the mouth of the Osage. This

[10] *Missouri Intelligencer, April 22, May 13, 20, 1820.*
[11] *Idem, June 17, 24, 1820.*
[12] *Journal of Convention, 1820-32.*

amendment was beaten eight votes to twenty-eight; one of the eight was from St. Louis, another from Washington and the other six from St. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid. The original proposal was then agreed to, twenty-eight to nine, two of the nine coming from Washington, one each from St. Louis and St. Charles, and five from St. Genevieve and Cape Girardeau. On July 15, the section of the constitution providing for the permanent seat of government as reported by the committee on revision was adopted without any attempt at amendment.[13] The opposition then to the central location was weak and to be found chiefly in the older sections in the southeast.

The Convention thus did not locate the capital in any existing town but planned for the laying out of a new town. Clearly this would require some little time and the Constitution provided that the capital should not be removed to the central location until 1826. The original proposal of July 10 named St. Louis as the temporary capital during the interim; Mr. Boone of St. Charles moved to strike out St. Louis and substitute St. Charles, but this was rejected without a roll call and St. Louis accepted. In the later stage on July 17, however, a brisk fight for the location of the temporary capital developed. A proposal to strike out St. Louis and insert Potosi was lost by a tie vote, a similar motion for St. Charles was beaten fifteen to twenty-three, but the Convention then decided, twenty to eighteen, to strike out St. Louis, and without a roll call, to leave the location of the temporary capital to the first assembly.[14]

An analysis of the votes shows clearly that the most determined opposition to St. Louis as the temporary capital came from the Southeast, these delegates voting more than two to one in favor of Potosi. Even for the proposal of St. Charles the Washington and Cape Girardeau delegations were unanimously in favor and the counties south of the Missouri, with the exception of St. Louis, furnished 11 of the 15 votes.

[13] *Journal of the Convention*, 32, 45.
[14] *Ibid*, 32, 45-46.

On the other hand, the Booneslick delegates were nearly unanimous in support of St. Louis. The contest is of interest as foreshadowing the bitter struggle on the location of the temporary capital in the first assembly, as showing the latent hostility of the southeast to St. Louis which flared up more than once in the politics of early days, and the agreement of St. Louis with the coming section. This alliance proved fairly staple; for example, it was chiefly responsible for the election of Benton to the Senate in the first assembly.[15]

IV. TEMPORARY CAPITAL 1821-1826.

The location of the temporary capital, handed over by the Convention to the first assembly, proved as difficult and consumed as much time as any question which came before that body. The members of the Assembly betrayed no timidity or unfamiliarity with legislative methods; in this first session there were numerous deadlocks between the two houses, committees of conference, an executive veto promptly overridden and all the procedure and activities of an old and experienced legislature. Unfortunately the material available to me for the proceedings in the House is limited to the fragmentary reports in the Missouri Intelligencer; for the Senate a copy of the Journal tells the whole story.

No sooner was the House organized than the question of the location of the temporary capital was brought up and on October 5 the House passed a bill selecting Potosi in Washington county.[16] Potosi was the most important village in the lead district and, as we have seen, the choice of the delegates from the southeast in the Convention. The Senate, however, did not approve of this choice. After a week of deliberation a combination of the St. Louis and Missouri river senators struck out Potosi from the bill and substituted Cotes sans Dessein, in Montgomery (now Callaway) county,[17] on the Missouri nearly opposite the mouth of the Osage. The "Cotes" was

[15] Shoemaker, *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood*, 273-274.
[16] *Sept. 20, 1820; Mo. Intell. Oct. 14, Nov. 4, 1820.*
[17] *Senate Journal, 1st General Assembly, 48.*

the only settlement remotely resembling a village within the limits established by the constitution for the location of the permanent seat of government.

Whatever was the combination in the House which secured a majorty for Potosi in original bill, it went to pieces when the Senate amendment came up for action on October 12. The House disapproved decidedly of Cotes sans Dessein and struck it from the amended bill by a vote of more than two to one. But attempts to fill the blank with St. Louis, St. Charles, Franklin, Florissant, or Boonville were all voted down. At a later meeting St. Genevieve and Herculaneum shared the same fate. Finally on October 24 the House by a majority of one substituted Franklin for the Senate amendment of Cotes sans Dessein.[18] Franklin, in Howard county across the river from Boonville, was a thriving town and the commercial center of the Booneslick district.

The Senate however liked Franklin no better than Potosi, refused to accede to it, and requested a committee of conference. After a week of vain endeavor to reach some agreement this committee reported its failure and the deadlock was complete. As a last resort the Senate then secured a "simple conference" between the two houses. Just how this was managed is not clear but in effect it meant that the Senate regarded the question as just introduced and started fresh. Accordingly votes were taken on St. Louis, St. Charles, Potosi and Newport, the county seat of Washington county. There was a majority against Potosi and Newport, but the vote of the other two was a tie. The President of the Senate (Lieutenant Governor Ashley) defeated by his casting vote St. Charles, but voted for St. Louis. On a reconsideration, however, St. Louis also was beaten. The Senate then voted to adhere to Cotes sans Dessein and the 'simple conference' failed.[19]

Within a week the House passed a new bill, selecting this time St. Charles as the temporary seat of government, the Senate agreed and the bill became a law.[20] Material is not

[18] *Mo. Intell. Nov. 4, 11, 1820.*
[19] *Senate Journal, 1st General Assembly*, 88, 98, 117, 119, 122-24.
[20] *Ibid. 136-137.*

available to explain this second change of choice on the part of the House. Naturally the Booneslick section was not all satisfied with the defeat of Franklin. The Intelligencer declares that St. Charles was finally selected by a majority of one and that but for the death of one Booneslick member and the returning home of others, Franklin would have been selected.[21] But Franklin was not the only town beaten by a single vote.

Apart from local rivalry and the expected profit from possession of the temporary seat of government, convenience would seem to point to the avoidance of more than one removal; that is, the temporary capital should remain at St. Louis or be removed to the future permanent seat of government. The latter, it is true, had not been selected as yet, but as will be shown there was a strong desire if not even a general expectation that Cotes sans Dessein should become the capital. Probably this explains in part the insistence of the Senate. An analysis of the votes in the Senate is not very illuminating as to combinations of different interests. Several Senators seem honestly anxious to support any choice that can secure a majority.

St. Charles, as far as one can see, had no especial claim to the location of the temporary seat of government, or at least no apparent advantage over St.Louis. It was in 1819 a town of about one hundred houses, many of them substantial brick buildings built in the last two or three years, with two brick kilns, a tanyard, and several stores. Originally a village of hunters and Indian traders it was now the center of a thriving agricultural population.[22] The town offered certain tangible inducements to the Assembly in a pledge to provide free quarters for the Assembly,[23] but its selection must be regarded as a compromise. Apparently this pledge to provide to the state free of charge a place of meeting for the Assembly was loyally kept for the various meetings of the first and second assemblies, for there is no record of appropriations for rentals. The third assembly however, appointed committees to report on

[21] *Mo. Intell., Dec. 9, 1820.*

[22] *S. H. Long's Expedition I. 64 (Early Westerntravels XIV, 126).*

a place of meeting and agreed to accept the proposal of Charles Peck for the use of the rooms "at present occupied" by the assembly;[24] they later appropriated $2.50 a day to Ruloff Peck for the use of his house in the present session. It would seem then that the assembly occupied the same building thruout the five years at St. Charles, a building which might be called the temporary capitol.[25]

V. THE LOCATION OF THE PERMANENT SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.

While the Assembly was spending what must seem today a disproportionate amount of time and energy on the selection of the temporary capital, it was legislating with little difficulty on the much more important question of the location of the Permanent Seat of Government. Although the Convention had embodied in the Constitution a general description of this location—"within forty miles of the mouth of the Osage river on the Missouri"—and provided in a general way for the selection of the actual location by a board of commissioners legislation was necessary to set this machinery in motion. At this first session of the first assembly, in the middle of October, the House passed a bill for the location of the Permanent Seat of Government;[26] after five days of discussions the Senate passed it with six amendments; and after mutual concessions and a committee of conference, the amended bill passed both houses.[27] As far as can be determined from the scanty records the contest turned on details, and especially on the personnel of the board of commissioners. Evidently the position of commissioner was regarded as a desirable one.

The act, approved by the governor November 16, 1820, designated as commissioners John Thornton of Howard, Robert Gory Watson of New Madrid, John B. White of Pike,

[24] *Senate Journal, 1st Assembly 137.*

[25] *Ibid. 3rd Assembly, 18, 20, 26.*

[25] Pictures of the "temporary capitol" may be found in the *Official Manual State of Missouri, 1913-14, 16,* and, obviously after the building had been remodeled, in the *The State of Missouri, W. Williams, editor, 10.* I have not verified the identification. The building photographed is still standing.

[26] October 14, 1820; *Mo. Intell., Nov. 11, 1820.*

[27] *Senate Journal,* 1st. Assembly 63, 67 et seq.

James Logan of Wayne, and Jesse B. Boone of Montgomery these commissioners were appointed as the Constitution required from the counties at the four corners and the center of the state. They were to take an oath that they were not personally interested in any land to be considered and for the faithful discharge of their duties; they were to receive a remuneration of four dollars a day, not exceeding twenty-five days, and traveling expenses.

The act provided that the commissioners were to meet at Cotes sans Dessein on the first Monday of the following May and then to proceed to the selection of four vacant sections of United States land, as provided in the enabling act. If, however, it proved impossible to find four sections of government land suitable for the capital within the geographical limits defined by the constitution, the commissioners were to receive proposals from private owners of not more than 450 acres, and report fully to the next assembly on the advantages and disadvantages of the various parcels offered.

The commissioners presented a careful and detailed report[38] to the special session of the assembly which met at St. Charles in June, 1821. All the vacant public lands left within the Constitutional limits were three fractional townships. Unable to decide whether the Constitution and the law compelled them to designate four sections of public land, to avoid any violation the commissioners formally selected four sections from township 44, range 11, for the assembly to accept or reject. This is the location of the City of Jefferson today. The commissioners, however, were of the opinion that these four sections were not a proper site for the seat of government, because the bluffs here were badly broken and the bottom very limited, and the surrounding country too poor to support any considerable population or extensive settlement.

Several proposals from private owners had been received, but only two of them in the opinion of the commissioners deserved attention. One, in township 46, range 13, was in the extreme northwestern corner of Cole county, just east of the

[38] *Mo. Intell*, June 25, 1821.

mouth of the Moniteau, apparently the site of Marion, the first county seat of Cole county. The advantages of this location were the best view of the river within the constitutional limits and the heathfulness of the location; the disadvantages were the steepness of the bluff, making it inaccessible except at one end, the scanty water supply, and once more the broken character of the surrounding country which made it unsuitable for any dense settlement. Finally, a bar in the river made the ferriage unsafe.

The commissioners then described with very evident favor the second set of proposals, those from Cotes sans Dessein and gave the advantages at considerable length. The site was a beautiful one and probably safe from encroachment from the river, while the Cotes (hill) itself was excellent building material; there was water in plenty for a little digging and an excellent place for a landing; the bottom lands were extensive and capable of supporting a large population; the site was as near the center of the state as any and opposite the mouth of the Osage, a highway to the south. The disadvantages, not very vigorously urged, were, an island opposite which would necessitate the location of the ferry above or below the actual site; the fact the bottom behind the Cotes was subject to overflow from several small streams; and possible danger from the encroachment of the river. The commissioners were quite confident that it would be easy to provide an adequate outlet for the small streams and that there was no real danger from the Missouri.

The most serious obstacle to an immediate selection of Cotes sans Dessein was a multiplicity of claimants under a Spanish grant and New Madrid claims. The commissioners were forced to admit that at present the land titles were in an unsatisfactory condition but felt confident that if the final selection could be postponed until the autumn session that these claims could be consolidated and simplified; they had been unable to bring this about as yet because of lack of time. The commissioners gave it as their opinion that Cotes sans Dessein was the most desirable location for the permanent seat of government.

The characteristics, as revealed in this report, demanded by the commissioners for the site of Missouri's capital are of considerable interest. They clearly recognized the value of a commanding position and a beautiful outlook; they were also properly interested in the salubrity of the location, which meant practically that the surrounding country must be free from overflow, More than this, the commissioners desired a location suitable for the development of a considerable town, which in those days meant a considerable area suitable for relatively dense agricultural settlement. The emphasis on a safe ferrying place and an abundant natural water supply of course simply reflect the more primitive conditions of the time.

Cotes sans Dessein,[29] which appealed so strongly to the commissioners, was a peculiar, long narrow hill or ridge separated from the bluffs by extensive bottoms. Here early in the territorial period had settled a little group of French families and here in 1821 was the only settlement on the river within the constitutional limits which by any stretch of the term could be called a village. There had been, it would seem, a considerable expectation from the first that this would be the capital, and the Senate, as has been pointed out made a determined effort to locate here the temporary capital. In spite of all this, Cotes sans Dessein with its limited area and extensive bottoms subject to overflow and encroachment from the river does not appeal very strongly to the present day observer. The early settlers in their eagerness for the fertile bottoms and advantage of river transportation often made serious mistakes in locating their settlements owing to their ignorance of the vagaries of the great rivers. Old Franklin in Howard county is merely the most striking example of a considerable number of lost towns.

The assembly to which the commissioners made this careful report evidently were convinced by it and gave the commissioners the extension of time they desired. The supplementary act approved June 28, 1821, appointed Daniel Morgan Boone to fill the vacancy on the commission caused by the

[29] *S. H. Long's Expedition, I, 74 (Early Western Travels, XIV, 137, 138).*

death of Jesse B. Boone, and extended the time for the location of the capital until the next session of the assembly. The commissioners were authorized to consider sites on United States lands offered for sale but not sold, and were bound by rather elaborate requirements, including a special oath to keep secret all deliberations and proposals until their report to the next assembly. On the same date a joint resolution of the two houses requested the governor to inform the United States Land Office of the Commissioners' formal selection of the Jefferson City site, thus protecting the interests of the state.

The commissioners reported to the next assembly that Angus L. Langham had succeeded in consolidating the land titles at Cotes sans Dessein and offered to donate to the state 392 acres toward the permanent seat of government. The commisioners accordingly selected 892 acres at the Cotes. On November 10 the committee of the House of the Permanent seat of government recommended that the report of the commissioners be approved and Cotes sans Dessein be selected.[80] Our information at this point becomes exasperatingly meagre. On November 20, Mr. Waters spoke at length in the committee of the whole house against the report, although his objections are not given and was replied to by Duff Green and others.[81]

Apparently the question was then or even earlier referred to the Committee on Judiciary, for on December 10, Green wrote to the editor of the Intelligencer that the location of the permanent seat of government was yet to be acted on; and that the Committee on the Judiciary had for a long time been acting on the question of land titles. He wrote also that the Committee would soon report and "we shall know whether the question is to be settled or for years to be a matter of electioneering in every little village presuming to be a candidate."[82] On Christmas Day a "member of the legislature" wrote to the editor that the location of the capital had taken up much time and that the committee on the Judiciary had reported on the land titles at Cotes sans Dessein and on the claims, "multi-

[80] *Mo. Intell., Nov. 27, 1821.*
[81] *Ibid., Dec. 18.*
[82] *Ibid., Dec. 25.*

farious indeed."[33] Six days later the governor approved the bill selecting the Jefferson City site.

The result then of these long drawn out and obscure discussions was the selection of the site which the commissioners had considered simply to protect themselves under the constitution and the law, a site in which they could see little good, which they expressly declared in their opinion unsuitable. Why the assembly overruled the commissioners and rejected their later unequivocal recommendation of Cotes sans Dessein is not altogether clear fom the evidence accessible. The desire to take advantage of the donation of the Federal government and secure the four sections of public land, even indeed if the capital were not located on them, and more especially the confusion as to land titles at Cotes sans Dessein appear clearly in the proceedings. In all probability there is substantial truth in the local tradition that disputes as to land titles lost the capital to Callaway county.

VI. THE CAPITAL SINCE 1821.

The final decision of the assembly in favor of the Jefferson City site, by the Act of December 31, 1821, did not close the discussion. This Assembly provided for the laying out of a town, the sale of lots and the erection of the first capitol, yet in the election of 1824 a candidate for the assembly form Howard county felt it worth his while to announce in the Intelligencer that he beleived that the permanent seat of government was constitutionally located and so centrally situated that he would oppose any attempt to remove it.[34] In the assembly elected at this time there was a determined effort, led by the speaker, to strike out the appropriation for the completion of the "Governor's House" (the first capitol). The motion was defeated in the House by the close vote of 26 to 22. The Speaker insisted that he had no idea of changing the location of the capital, but in the face of rumor that the people of St. Louis proposed to offer a large bonus if the

[33] *Ibid., Jan. 1, 1822.*
[34] *Mo. nIteli., May 8, 1824.*

capital be moved, some of the members were a little skeptical. Mr. Miller of Howard said so frankly.[35] A report in 1831 of a select committee of the Senate on the claims of the Trustees of Jefferson City throws a flood of light on the temper of this assembly of 1824-25.[36] Under the act of 1822 the Trustees were bonded to perform certain duties, their compensation to be fixed by the next assembly, and, the committee reported, "owing to some unfortuante prejudice which existed in that Legislature against the Seat of Government and anything in any manner connected with it, or an improper estimate of the services rendered," that assembly gave them $100 in depreciated currency.

This "unfortunate prejudice" did not disappear after the government was moved to Jefferson City in 1826. The city lots which it had been expected would provide the funds for the first capitol and the permanent improvements of the city, sold with difficulty at low prices and largely for credit.[37] Until as late as 1832 the legislature passed even the most necessary laws for the development of the town reluctantly and with great difficulty, and the town suffered accordingly.[38] Finally in 1832 Governor Miller in his message[39] lost patience and discussed the situation without mincing matters. Urging that the condition of the capital city was a subject of much interest to the people of the whole state, he said: "If it is not to be the permanent seat of government that fact cannot too soon be made known; while on the other hand if it is to remain as such, it is advisable to appropriate money for grading and improving the streets." The Governor suggested that the erection of a penitentiary there would contribute to settle the minds of the people as to the location of the capital.

The assembly followed his counsel and in 1833 provided for the erection of the Penitentiary at Jefferson City. From the first, lots had been reserved for the Penitentiary and the State

[35] *Mo. Intell., Jan. 25, 1825.*
[36] *Senate Journal, 6 Ass., 75.*
[37] *Mo. Intell., May 29, 1823.*
[38] *Senate Journal, 4th Ass., passim; House Journal, 6 Ass., passim.*
[39] *Senate Journal, 7th Ass., 18.*

University, so that in the popular mind these institutions were identified with the capital. Therefore the investment of the public funds in a Penitentiary at Jefferson City seems to have settled the question of the removal of the capital. Governor Dunklin in his message[40] of 1834, again urging appropriations for street improvements, stated that "since the establishment of the Penitentiary here public opinion seems to have settled down to this as the permanent seat of government." Two years later, discussing the need of a new capitol building, Governor Boggs stated that for some years past it was viewed as doubtful whether the capital be allowed to remain but now the question seemed to be put at rest.[41] This agitation for a change in the location of the capital bore fruit in at least two attempts to bring about the removal by constitutional amendment. In the House of the 6th Assembly 1831, a proposed amemndent to remove the capital to Boonville was rejected without a roll call. In the Senate of the next Assembly a similar amendment was introduced; but a motion to substitute Columbia for Boonville was voted down six to twelve, and the original proposal defeated, seven to eleven[42] Perhaps the realization that the pending appropriation for a penitentiary if passed would have the effect Governor Miller anticipated explains the greater interest shown in this second proposal.

What were the reasons for this long continued unpopularity of Jefferson City? No doubt the protracted debate over its selection left behind a certain amount of jealous and bitter feelings. And in general an agricultural state is prone to transmute its distrust of politicians and office holders into dislike for the capital, a more or less probable den of iniquity. But in Missouri there were two rather obvious reasons for a special prejudice; the primitive conditions and slow growth of the town and more especially a most unfortunate uncertainty as to land titles.

It must be remembered that Jefferson City was, as it

[40] *Senate Journal, 8th Ass., 19.*
[41] *Senate Journal, 9th Ass., 18.*
[42] *House Journal, 6th Ass., 240; Senate Journal, 7th Ass., 70.*

were, a town made to order for the seat of government. The first house there was built in 1819; in 1823 there were two families in residence; in 1824, three; and in 1826, when the government was moved there, thirty-one. A "hotel" and three taverns were opened that year, and in the following year a general store.[43] The country in the immediate vicinity did not fill up with an agricultural population so that the town was largely a place of one industry, providing a home for the officials. But the illiberal policy of the legislature and the constant uncertainty as to the removal of the capital were the greatest handicaps.

Maxmillian, Prince of Wied, on his journey up the Missouri in 1833, viewed Jefferson City from the river and described it as at present only a village, with a couple of short streets. The "gentle eminence" on which the town was to be built were traversed by fences, and stumps and felled trees were everywhere seen. On his return the following year he stopped and was less complimentary on a closer view. He declared the place still in its infancy, with the habitations scattered, the ground not levelled and covered with heaps of stone and high weeds, where cows and pigs roamed at liberty. For provisions he could buy only salt pork, biscuits and whiskey.[44] Admitting that a European nobleman might well expect too much of a frontier town, it is clear that as yet Jefferson City had not prospered.

With the disappearance of the demand for the removal of the capital and with much fairer treatment from the assembly, after about 1835 the town grew rapidly. The streets were improved, the remaining lots sold more readily and at better prices.[45] In 1839 the city was incorporated, in the census of 1844 it had a population of 1122, exceeded only by St. Louis, Hannibal and Booneville. But the tradition that Jefferson City was somehow or other an uncomfortable place

[43] *History of Cole, Montieau, Morgan, Benton, Miller, Maries and Osage Counties, 280-1.*

[44] *Maxmillian's Travels in North America, 1, 115 (Early Western Travels, XXII, 242. Ibid. III, 473; XXIV. 122.*

[45] *House Journal., 10th Ass., 014; Senate Journal, 19th Ass., 31, 39, 57.*

of residence survived, to the great injustice of the town, long after the early primitive conditions disappeared.

But the "unfortunate prejudice" of the Assembly of 1824-25 and of the people in general was probably due chiefly to certain private claims to the land selected by the State, claims founded on the location there of New Madrid certificates. Although the actual claimants were land speculators, their claims were based on damage done to the property of one Baptiste Delisle by the New Madrid earthquake, and the claims were later known as the Delisle claims.[46]

When Governor McNair on January 1, 1822 informed the Surveyor General that Missouri had finally selected the Jefferson City site, he received the reply that a part of the land selected was already, on June second of the previous year, located under a New Madrid certificate. Charles S. Hempstead, Angus L. Langham and Taylor Berry, the last two well known land speculators, were the claimants, and their notice of location of June 2 antedated the resolution of the Assembly of June 28, requesting the United States authorities to withdraw the land from the sale or location. The Assembly made the best of the situation and authorized the commissioners to receive and report to the Assembly any proposals of claimants to the lands selected. It is very probable that the action of the next assembly, in December 1822, was in response to some such proposals; the assembly authorized the purchase of the rights of the claimants for not more than four thousand dollars, or, failing in this, empowered the Commissioners to take by condemnation eight squares of the land. Under this act the claimants in May, 1823 transferred all their rights to the state.

How much the state was compelled to pay is not apparent, but the whole incident did not enchance the popularity of the new capital. It was a curious coincidence that Langham, who had been so active locally in favor of Cotes sans Dessein, now managed to profit materially by the location

[46] The facts as to the Delisle claims in 1822 and 1842 may be found in *House Journal, 12th Ass., 612* and in *Reports, Missouri Supreme Court, XII, 14.*

at Jefferson City. In connection with a curious recrudescence[47] of this same claim in 1842, the Committee on Judiciary submitted a report casting considerable doubt on the validity of the Delisle New Madrid certificates, and making this positive statement: "It is, in truth, well known, and can be established as your Committee are well assured, by incontestable evidence, that the commissioners were dogged after by Speculators to spy out the lands being selected by them, in order to cover it by some floating claim before the tardy action of the Legislature could be had, and thus take advantage of the State."[48]

The Assembly, then, in 1821, selected the site at Jefferson City, already declared by the commissioners to be unsuitable, without any enthusiam, but apparently because being United States land it would be a donation under the enabling act, and free from any question as to land titles. And at once the state was called upon to quiet at considerable expense the claims, probably fraudulent, of certain sharp dealing land speculators. The ill savour of the whole affair permeated the state for years, to the great detriment of Jefferson City.

Since 1833 only one serious effort has been made to change the location of the permanent seat of government. The Convention which drew up the Constitution 1845, a constitution rejected by the people, gave a slight support to the proposal to leave the location to the people thru the legislature, and embodied the location at Jefferson City in their constitution;[49] the constitutions of 1865 and 1875, contain the same provision. In the early nineties Sedalia launched a movement for the removal of the capital to that thriving town, culminating in the submission, by the assembly in 1895, of a constitutional amendment to that effect. The amendment[50] demanded from Sedalia a capitol, Supreme Court Building, executive mansion and armory at least equal to the build-

[47] See note, *infra* on the Delisle claims.
[48] *House Journal, 12th Ass., 614.*
[49] *Journal of Convention, 80, 265-6. App. 14-17, 22.*
[50] *Session Acts, 38th Ass., 285.*
[51] *Official Manual, 1897-8, 74.*

ings at Jefferson City, absolutely without expense to the state. The amendment was lost by a popular vote of 181,258 to 334,819. The proposal had a majority in eighteen counties only, nearly all in the Osage river valley.[51] The ratification of the bond issue providing for the erection at Jefferson City of the capitol building now under construction certainly settled for a generation at least all question of capital removal.

Note on the Delisle claims:—There is a touch of romance in the revival of these claims in 1842. Baptiste Delisle himself returned to Missouri and very naturally felt that if any compensation was to be made by the state for claims based on injury to his land by the New Madrid earthquake it should be made to him. It seems that he left New Madrid in 1812, joined the army at Pittsburg, saw service on the Canadian frontier, and after the war settled in New York and later drifted back thru Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois to Missouri. He was now an old man and very poor. He had never transferred his title to his (supposedly) injured New Madrid property and never until his return to Missouri knew of the New Madrid certificate issued in his favor, or even of the act of congress providing for such compensation.

The Committee on Judiciary of the Houe in 1843 reported adversely to his claim with the scathing attack on the speculators of 1821 already quoted. The Committees of Judiciary of the two houses in 1845, however, reported that the destruction of records in the burning of the capitol would make it difficult to prove the fraudulent character of the claims or to defend the State's title; they recommend the acceptance of claimants' offer to sell out to the state for $4,000.[52] The assembly however, elected to fight the case and in Lessieur vs. Price[53], in 1848, secured a decision from the Supreme Court of Missouri establishing the state's title. It is interesting to note that the decision was given on points of law which would have invalidated the claims of Langham in 1821. The site of the present capitol and the center of Jefferson City were included in the area in dispute.

[51] *Senate Journal, 13th Ass., Appendix 18-21.*
[52] *Missouri Reports,* XII. 14.

GOTTFRIED DUDEN'S "REPORT," 1824-1827.

TRANSLATED BY WILLIAM G. BEK.

SIXTH ARTICLE.

THE TWENTY-THIRD LETTER.

August 6, 1826.

"Now I can also tell you something about the plague of mosquitoes. About six weeks ago, I experienced something, which judging from all my former experinces, I should have regarded as simply impossible. Everywhere, in valleys and on highlands, there were such swarms of mosquitoes, that, in shady places, one could scarcely keep them away from one's nose and mouth. This insect is nothing else than the gnat (cuex pipiens). They are found over the whole earth, but in such numbers I should have expected them only in swamps and never on highlands. That their appearance was quite unusual, I could believe so much the more readily, since during the other years I had noticed nothing whatever of such a thing. It is attributed to the inundations by the Missouri. This stream had gone out of its banks during the summer of 1824, and had placed the greater part of the valley under water. Such an inundation is said to occur only once in about thirty years, however."

Warning is then given against building dwellings near the Missouri river, because the banks are so unstable, being attackd by the water, the ice and the masses of drifting wood. "I know several instances where beautiful plantations, houses, barns, orchards and hundreds of acres of land were washed away in a short time."..... "He who builds on the hills away from the swamps will have as little cause to complain of the climate here, as he has in Germany. This building on the hills by no means precludes the use of the rich soil of the lowlands. In no town of Germany does one live more

healthfully than in St. Louis, because the surroundings have been cleared of timber for several miles. In St. Charles, too, one rarely hears of sickness."

Then we are told about the breeding places of mosquitoes and about some of their habits. Protection against these little pests is easily obtained by making mosquito bar coverings, but more simply still by building a small fire before the entrance of the houses and letting the smoke drive them away

"Among the many advantages which the Mississippi country affords, there are many unpleasant features, which, as is the case with all new inconveniences, excite the imagination greatly, and which really injure the inexperienced German immigrant more than they do the native. It is not well to allow one's self to be influenced by first impressions. There is no lack of immigrants who were at first as much intoxicated by the charms of their new environment as they later loathed the same. The fault lies in human nature and not in the country. If only the agreeable things are mentioned this region will appear a veritable paradise to every German. On the other hand it is just as easy, by exercising a little imagination, to paint a most terrifying picture of the unpleasant features. Whoever is inclined to this purpose, will find enough material in my letters. I could even furnish still more and speak of the poisonous plants, the mere touching of which in some persons produces painful eruptions. Beside the most beautiful flowering trees there stand the poisonous sumac varieties, especially the rhus radicans. But in this as in other matters the danger is exaggerated to ridiculous proportions. The inhabitants here know the dangerous effects of these plants, but no one lives in fear or anxiety on their account."

THE TWENTY-FOURTH LETTER.

August 12, 1826.

In this letter the writer tells us of his experience in a Missouri forest where he got lost. We read how he stilled his hunger by eating of the bark of the slippery elm. The distant barking of dogs finally directed him to a road which

brought him out of his predicament. As a last resort he would have sought to attract some planter by repeatedly firing his gun, which was recognized by all frontiersmen as a sign of distress.

The reader is also informed that the European idea of the impenetrable American forest is a myth. Then a brief description of the forest in the lowlands and on the highlands is given. The great variety of trees in the same foreat is shown to differ greatly from that found in the German forests. In conclusion we read: "On a single acre near my home I found four varieties of walnut trees, three of the oak, two of elm, the Virginia cherry tree, plum trees, a mulberry tree, ash trees, the broad-leafed linden tree, the sassafras, sweet gum bushes, the Canadian redbud, the flowering dog wood, the iron wood, the hackberry, the plane tree, grapevine bushes, hazel bushes, blackberry bushes and the elder."

THE TWENTY-FIFTH LETTER.

A rattlesnake was discovered near Duden's house. This reptile was five feet long and belonged to the crotalus horridus variety. Its behavior and the behavior of the domestic animals toward it are here described.———With delight Duden again speaks of his garden.———The great flocks of wild turkeys that frequent his barnyard are mentioned, as are also the deer which are so frequently seen in his field. "It is strange how the deer like to mingle with herds of domestic cattle."———"A few weeks ago an American panther here called tiger, was killed about four miles from here. It was a male about five feet long from the tip of its nose to the root of its tail, and weighed ninety pounds. Excepting a few black spots on the ears and about the mouth, it color was thruout yellowish, under the belly more whitish. These beats of prey are rare in the neighborhood of the plantations. It is seldom that they attack a human being. Beyond the state of Missouri, in the Missouri territory, there are more of them. There is also the gray bear, which is so extremely dangerous to the furhunters."————Wolves had recently

killed a young colt near Duden's home.———"The bison has retreated farther to the west. On the Kansas river a herd of many thousand was seen a few months ago. Also the wapiti (cervus wapiti), the elk, and the moose are not to be found near the settlements.———In St. Louis there lives a General Ashley who makes extensive hunting expeditions annually. He is accustomed to hire from thirty to forty hunters, with whom he goes to the Rocky Mountains and beyond in the spring of the year, and in the latter part of the autumn returns, often with a great amount of furs and hides. He is said to have discovered a place west of the sources of the LaPlatte river, where the Rocky Mountains for several miles are so low, that beasts of burden and wagons can easily cross them and get to the Pacific Ocean. If this is true, the exact location of the place will no doubt soon become common knowledge."

THE TWENTY-SIXTH LETTER.

September 12, 1826.

"Nature has deposited many things here that are waiting for a larger population A few miles from my dwelling I found in the bed of a small stream a lump of rich iron ore, weighing more than sixty pounds. It looks like pure metal, but as soon as it is brought close to the fire, it explodes with terrific violence. However, it does not pay to seek for it in this vicinity, since farther to the west, in Washington County, there have been discovered whole mountains of this ore. There smelters have been installed so that iron kettles and other cast iron ware can be bought rather cheaply here. Salt, too, is here in abundance. It is supplied by the licks in Boone County.* In the bluffs of the Missouri I found bitter salt. With ease I was able to collect a few pounds of entirely pure pieces. There is also no lack of saltpeter. About twelve and then again forty miles above the mouth of the Missouri is found an abundance of the best kind of coal. Also opposite

*Duden here refers to the salt springs in the Boone's Lick Country located in what is now Howard County.—Editor's Note.

the mouth of the Missouri there are large beds of coal. The city of St. Louis derives its coal supply from there. Formerly the St. Louisans burnt only wood, as will be done in the interior of the state of Missouri for a long time to come. Copper is not found in this neighborhood, but on the upper Mississippi near the St. Anthony Falls are found rich deposits. About three hundred and fifty miles above the mouth of the Missouri at the mouth of Fever river rich lead mines have been discovered on the Mississippi. Many people are going there."

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH LETTER.

September 28, 1826.

The remains of pre-historic man in America are here discussed. Duden has seen only a few Indian mounds east of St. Louis, so the major portion of the account deals with a reiteration of facts found in other works.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH LETTER.

October 1, 1826.

Here is an account of nine pages which deals with the conditions of health and the common ailments to which the Americans are subject. Their causes and their remedies are indicated.

"The most common ailments in the United States are; billious fever, intermittent fever, influenza, and tuberculosis; among children, croup and whooping-cough.

"In the western part of the United States there are many adults who have had neither the small-pox nor the cow-pox. Vaccination for small-pox is not very common here. There prevails no real prejudice against vaccination, but a law compelling vaccination could hardly be enforced, unless the danger were indeed imminent."

We are told that the chief seat of yellow fever is along the Gulf of Mexico. It is also occasionally found on the Atlantic coast and even along the Ohio, but is unknown along the Missouri. Influenza and tuberculosis are more rarely

found in the western than in the eastern states, on the other hand the west is subject to more billious and intermittent fevers. In truly old fashioned manner the cause of fevers is said to be bad air, which on account of the decaying vegetation is worst in the summer months. The observation is made with something of surprise, that working on new land or drinking of water from a creek, the temperature of which has been increased by the summer heat, almost always produces either boils, or intermittent fever, or even bilious fever. The use of sulphuric acid is recommended as the best means of fighting the evils that lurk in drinking water.

"Last spring an aliment called Influenza made its appearance in the Mississippi country. It came to the lower Missouri from Georgia, and gradually wandered to the remotest settlements on the Missouri. At first it was thought to be simply a catarrhal difficulty, however, its regular spreading out and the contagious nature of the ailment soon attracted attention, especially when the warmer weather left no doubt as to its peculiarities. About the twentieth of March it was in St. Louis, a week later in St. Charles, and about the middle of April in Columbia and in Franklin on the Missouri. Painful swelling on different parts of the body, especially on the thighs, were the common symptoms, especially during the warmer season, but prior to this the respiratory organs alone seemed to be affected. Headaches were rarely lacking and but few persons escaped the discomfort entirely. Old persons were attacked most violently, The pain which seemed to wander from one part of the body to the other soon settled in the chest, and in some instances caused a loss of the voice, which lasted until complete recovery. Irrigation produced by sulphate of magnesia and cream of tartar, plasters and poultices applied to relieve the discomfort of the chest, repeated lancing of the surface of the painful swellings, thereby causing slight bleeding, and the use of sulphur, sulphuric acid and naptha relieved the patients very quickly and restored the health in six or eight days. Only in the case of old persons it required more time. In my neighborhood

some thirty persons were attacked by the malady and all of them have been restored to health without difficulty by the above named means under my direction.

"During the first years of residence some of the immigrants from central Europe suffered from a cutaneous eruption which is very similar to the itch. It attacks the lower extremities. Internal disturbances are not connected with it, neither is there an offensive odor noticeable, and sulphur is wholly ineffective. In case of otherwise healthy persons, the eruption is confined to the feet It causes one to scratch the parts till they bleed. The itching comes on about sundown. After an emmission of lymph and blood the discomfort ceases. The malady appears only in hot weather and vanishes with the approach of cold weather."

Duden is not clear as to the probable cause of this ailment He seems to think that the bite of ticks and chiggers may have something to do with it. He warns the people against settling near swamps or in forests, against working on newly cleared ground during the hot season, against overexertion in hot weather, and against the consumption of too much meat. He sounds a special warning to the poorer immgrants in regard to the eating of meat, something they are very likely to do, when they find how cheap this article of food is in America.

"Most of the ailments of the natives arise from their own neglect. The climate has very little to do with it. A mode of living, such as is usual here in America, would very soon destroy half of the population of Germany. Children and grownups eat and drink in summer and winter, what they like, whether they [illegible]r well. To fast during an illness is regarded a great fo[illegible]. No one thinks of taking precautions against catching cold. In any season the children run, half naked, from their bed or from the blazing fireplace into the open. Some of the dwellings admit the wind from all sides, and yet no effort is made to keep out the cold northwest wind, a thing that could be so easily done with a little clay. They would rather drag a cart load of wood to the hearth

daily. Around the hearth the entire family then spends the time the whole day thru.

"It is, of course, to be expected that the medical profession in Missouri, a 'new country,' (an expression with which the natves seek to excuse all the imperfections of domestic and public institutions, and sometimes justly so), is far behind, especially when it is known, how the American laws look upon the art of healing. The trade in medicine is wholly unrestrained in the whole United States, and in most places the right to practice medicine is not dependent upon examinations or license. Provision has, of course, been made for Universities, and in the west, Lexington in Kentucky is largely attended. Here and at the Universities on the Atlantic coast many doctors are graduated, but the title of 'doctor' is not a necessary condition to admit to practice. The people judge the ability of the physician, as they judge the ability of any artisan, whose trade depends wholly upon the support of the crowd, and any one may assume the title of 'doctor' who desires to make the art of healing his business, without giving cause for an examination. I believe that the free sale of medicines causes more harm than the unrestrained practice of the art of healing.

"Just as there is no lack of real physicians at the public institutions of learning, so, too, in places where the population is not too small, a man soon arises against whom the quacks can not hold their ground.

"In regard to the medicines the situation is bad. Countless differences as to the value of the medicines are really known only to the men of science; the mass of the people will never give their undivided confidence to some honest, well informed salesman to such an extent that the attraction of cheapness, especially when supported by unscrupulous recommendations, will not mislead occasionally. Without state control nothing can be done, and a good control leads to monopoly. Perhaps the United States will come to this later on. For the time being there is nothing left for the physicians to do but to sell the medicines themselves, a practice followed by almost

all of them. Only in the large cities are there exceptions to this rule. There one finds reasonably good apothecary shops. Only in the large cities also does one find surgeons. In other places the physician is at the same time surgeon and apothecary, and, especially in the country town, he usually acquires a good deal of wealth.

"An exorbitant trade in secret remedies and elixers is the simple consequence of this condition. Almost in every newspaper one finds recommendations of such arcana. Far more offensive, however, is the ridiculous self praise of real physicians. So a certain Doctor Anderton of New York, for instance, recommends his 'superior method of curing a certain disease,' and, while promising the greatest secrecy, he designates his place of business as one 'where that integrity and candor may be found, which thousands can testify, has always been the ruling principle of his practice.' A Doctor Horne speaks of his 'profound attention' and says further about himself, speaking in the third person, 'his experience is very great, his success astonishing.' The above is taken from the *New Hampshire Journal.* Such advertisements usually have a motto such as: 'Neither quackery or imposition,' or 'To prevent the abuse of mercury,' or 'Salus populi suprema lex,' etc. Besides the advertisment is seen the likeness of Hippocrates, of Galen, of Aesculapius and others,—Among the arcana many panaceas are found as may well be imagined. Swaim's Panacea, with a hydra and a fighting Hercules, is advertised in almost every newspaper, accompanied by certificates of recommendation by the various professors of the medical faculties in Philadelphia and New York. A few doctors call themselves Indian doctors and claim to have received their knowledge from the Indians."

THE TWENTY-NINTH LETTER.

Written in October 1826.

We read of the backwoodsman's simple methods of making roads and building bridges; that all males between the ages of eighteen and forty-two, the male slaves not ex-

cepted, must follow the call of the road overseer; that scarcely one third of the work is done that should be accomplished; that even professional men, doctors and lawyers, attend these semi-social gatherings, not to work themselves, but to talk to this or that one of the men who are there; that it is not advisable to stay away from the gatherings for fear that it might be interpreted as pride, which would be unpardonable in that pioneer community.

The modus operandi of becoming an American citizen is discussed, as are also the rights and obligations of the citizen as well as the immigrant. The sources of our laws are said to be: (1) The Common Law of England; (2) The Acts of the English Parliament, antedating the separation of the American Colonies; (3) The Acts of Congress; (4) The Special Laws of the individual states. Attention is called to the fact that Louisiana has sanctioned the use of the Napoleonic Code, in a modified form. The various courts of law are enumerated. The lack of formality on the part of the judges is mentioned with interest. The unostentatiousness of the American office holder, from the President of the nation to the Justice of the Peace is dwelt upon. The simplicity of the American system of policing is contrasted with the pompous methods of Europe. A remnant of the European craze for titles is seen in the often unauthorized use of such titles as "Captain" and "Colonel." As proof that the Americans are not so devoid of intellectual attainment as some Europeans would make believe, Duden enumerates the various things that the American farmer is able to do and do well. We read on this point: "Every American farmer knows: (1) How to judge and evaluate the different soils, even by the trees and plants that grow on them; (2) He knows the various varieties of wood in regard to their use as building material, for furniture, for agricultural implements, for fences, and for fuel; (3) He can erect his own buildings, quarry rock, burn lime, and can dispense with the aid of the carpenter entirely and needs the joiner and stonemason only for the purpose of doing the finer work on his dwelling house;

(4) He knows how to transform the forest into tillable land, knows how to raise garden vegetables, grain, tobacco, hemp, flax, cotton and many other things; (5) He knows the rudiments of animal husbandry, and veterinary surgery, can shear his own sheep, and do the work of the butcher; (6) He can make his own shoes, can make potash, soap and maple sugar; (7) He is a good hunter, and can tan hides of animals, especially those of the deer, as well as the best tanner can. From the Indians he has learned to make use of the brains of the deer in tanning, which makes the leather smooth and soft without weakening it in its composition. ———The housewife can sew and knit, spin and weave, dye and make clothes."

This same farmer comes in touch with the most intellectual men of the nation, especially when his vote is solicited before the election. The officeseeker visits with him personally, or he hears him discuss the issues of the day at horse races, the mustering of the militia or other such gatherings. the different views of the various canditates is put before the people so that even the most stupid can not help getting somthing. It is surprising what a change comes to a people in one single generation—from the position of a German peasant or tradesman to an American citizen. Duden mentions particularly the deliberations he heard when Adams and Jackson ran for the Presidency. The common verdict was that Jackson made a better general than president.——In spite of the fact that the American takes so lively an interest in politics, it must not be overlooked that he really regards it only a side issue, which he puts aside, only too gladly, to look after his main interests."

Letter twenty-nine is in two parts. The continuation bears this title: "Concerning the political parties. The higher education in North America." Three parties are enumerated—the Federalists or Aristocrats, the Democrats, and the Royalists. Of the latter party he says: "Excepting perhaps a few recently immigrated British subjects there are no Royalists here any more. The eager adherents to the

crown of England have long ago recognized, that every further effort for the restoration of royal authority is wholly futile." In general terms he defines the principles of the Federal party to be an adherence to and a preservation of things existing, that which has been tried during a period of time, while the Democratic party stands for change and innovation. In this vein he continues at great length.

In the matter of higher education America has copied liberally from England. English literature is also their literature. Theaters are found in the seaboard towns as well as in the west. In the west they are, of course, poorly equipped, as is also the case in the smaller towns of Germany. In the matter of architecture, painting and sculpture it can not reasonably be expected that we should find here what it required centuries to accomplish in Europe. The architecture was primarily designed for utility, and in this line it has attracted the admiration of the world. The desire for music is also not wanting. Training in this branch is very superficial, however. The cultured Americans look to Europe as the Europeans look to the orient for inspiration. It will not be the fault of the American if the intellectual bond bewhen the two countires is severed. In regard to the higher institutions of learning the same complaint is applicable to America that applies to Europe, namely, that the forces are too much split up, that instead of having twenty average universities there ought to be two or three fully and perfectly equipped institution of this kind.

THE THIRTIETH LETTER.

Written in the month of February, 1827.

A lengthy letter, covering almost twenty-nine pages. A great part of it deals with observations of the weather in Missouri and general remarks about weather conditions and climate. Then follows a part dealing with swarms of flies on the prairies, settlements of immigrants on prairie land, settlements on unsold public lands, and finally with the pro-

cess of surveying public lands. This letter is designed to answer many questions of the prospective immigrant. Here it does not warrant detailed translation. In part we read: "I have now spent two summers, three autumns, three winters and two springs on the lower Missouri, and I must confess, that I could not wish for a better climate. Above all I praise the clear sky. Even in January and February there are more clear, mild days than cold, wet ones. The rejuvination of nature, which gives the early spring in Germany such marvelous charm, is, to be sure, less noticeable here. Vegetation is not checked as much as in Germany, and the grasses and some bushes begin very early to send forth shoots. On the other hand there are also fewer continuous cold rains here, which mark the spring in Germany even more than the awakening of nature. The German autumn can by no means be compared in splendor with the American autumn. The hot weather in Missouri lasts no longer than about two months, from the middle of June to the middle of August. During the past summer the temperature did not rise above 90, Fahrenheit, a degree of heat which is also not uncommon in the Rhine country, and there, because of the longer days and the lack of shade, is much more disturbing than on the Missouri."

THE THIRTY-FIRST LETTER.

In the month of March, 1827.

"I am preparing for my return journey. My farm I have rented for a period of three years. The rental is computed upon the natural products that are produced on the tillable land. Ten bushels of maize constitutes the rent per acre. At present a bushel of maize is worth only from twenty to twenty-five cents, but I am chiefly concerned about up-keep of the place, and the care of the fine building material growing on it, the final disposition of which is a matter to be considered. Why I have bought real estate at all, is well known to you fom my former letters. It was the best and cheapest way of getting the information for the purpose of

which the journey was made. That this expenditure does not bind me to America I need hardly tell you.

"I confess, that I leave this region with regrets. The only thing that I have really missed here has been the association with friends of the Fatherland. The Germans and the North Americans differ in no way from one another in those things which are called nature and temperament. Neither can the customs of the domestic life of the natives repel the German immigrant. They are in a large measure adapted to the external circumstances, and one easily becomes adjusted to them. Even the differences in language soon disappear. The thing, however, that will always be lacking is the bond of common memories. The longer the immigrant has lived in his home country so much the less will be the charm which the social life will afford him here, and all this in spite of the effort on his part to adjust himself to the mode of living and the circumstances of the Americans. The immigrant coming from Great Britain has less to complain of in this respect. He is more closely related to a great body of Americans, and finds himself surrounded by fellow immigrants of every station from his home country. What classes Germany has sent to America, and how the descendants of these people get along here, you already know from my former utterances. Of the first generation of German immigrants only few get beyond the Alleghany Mountains, and still fewer to the Mississippi. The latter privilege is reserved for their grandchildren, after their parents have perished in misery. Most of the early immigrants have remained in the Atlantic states. Who was to direct them here, and where should they get the means to make the long journey? As it was, only a small number could defray the expense of the ocean journey. Many inhabitants of the eastern states look with envy upon the prosperity of the Mississippi region, and seek above all to restrain the Europeans from coming here, since their influx into the east has hitherto so enormously increased value of their real estate.

"How often have I thought of the poor of Germany.

What prosperity and affluence could a few diligent hands prepare here for whole families, whose condition in the Fatherland is wholly inconceivable to the planters who were born in America. Along the Missouri there is still room for millions of beautiful plantations, not to speak of the other rivers at all. The great fertility of the soil, its enormous expanse, the mild climate, the splendid waterways, the absolute freedom of intercourse in a territory of many thousand square miles, the absolute safety of person and property, the very low rate of taxation, these are the things which must be regarded as the real foundation of the fortunate position of the Americans. In what other country on earth are all these combined? If it were desired to embellish the picture still further, it would only be necessary to remind the reader of the rich forests, the superabundance of coal, salt, iron, lead, copper, saltpeter and other minerals; of the inclination of almost all the inhabitants to utilize the natural advantages; of the river navigation which even now begins to flourish; and finally of the absence of all European prejudices in regard to rank, to trade, and to physical work.

"Only those who have carried on agriculture in Europe, and especially in Germany, will be able to appreciate the above characterization. They will know how much is gained if the domestic animals require no special attention or care; if the breeding of horses and the fattening of cattle and swine do not depend upon the cultivation of extensive tracts of land; if, as a rule, it is sufficient to procure a few pairs of animals for breeding purposes and then leave the rest to nature. They will also understand the value of soil, which year after year produces the richest harvest, without fertilization and with but little work. The land in Germany which is not under cultivation is almost worthless. Here, on the other hand, the farms are far separated from one another by tracts of rich land which will not find buyers for some time to come, and which are covered with dense forests of oak and nut trees and fine grass, on which every farmer, without exception or distinction, may turn large herds of domestic animals."

Anticipating the possible query on the part of Europeans, as to how it happened, that a land blessed with so many advantages should have been left unsettled for so long a time, Duden enumerates the reasons which lie back of this condition of things. In the first place the French did not discover the land till the latter part of the 17th century; the inhabitants of the United States had in the beginning too much to do on the Atlantic coast to think of the land beyond the Alghany Mountains; later they could not do so because the French would not let them; the Peace of Paris in 1763 finally gave England the land east of the Mississippi; settlements came slowly until Daniel Boone had blazed the way; the Americans east of the Alleghanies, impelled by a desire for speculation, sold their property in the east at a high price to European immigrants to establish cheaper and better homes west of the mountains; the territory east of the Mississippi, however, was so large that it sufficed for all who came. By the Peace of Paris the land west of the Mississippi was ceded to Spain who regarded this territory as a protecting wall against their silver mines in Mexico and so did not encourage immigration. In 1803 the United States got the land, but did not open it to settlers until a few years later. In the meantime steamboating had been perfected and with this discovery there began a new era for all of North America.

"Many a time I have said to myself and to my traveling companion, Louis Eversmann, the son of the chief mine-inspector Eversmann of Berlin, whom I leave behind in happy circumstances,—it is impossible for Europeans to understand how comfortably and with what little exertion one can live in America. It all sounds too strange, too fabulous to them. The belief in the existence of such places has long ere this entered the world of myth. The inhabitants of the Mississippi, on the other hand, regard the reports of the distress in Europe as exaggerated. The citizens of Missouri, as well as their slaves, can not understand that there should be so many white people in Europe, who with the greatest exertion can hardly acquire enough to procure as much meat

for the whole year, as is given to the dogs in a few weeks here, or that without benevolent gifts of other persons many a family would starve to death, or in winter freeze to death. They think that such utterances are simply made to praise America in a flattering manner. Occasionally, however, the expression is heard: 'Yes, yes, my grandfather has often related that things go very poorly there.'

"Nevertheless I must earnestly warn against coming here without due preparation and as single individuals. Success depends entirely upon the manner of executing the plan of immigration. Without special preparation and efficient guidance every immigrant exposes himself to chance success more than is even anticipated. The settler who passes the first years successfully is safe. However, this is a serious condition. In the beginning the adjustment to a new climate, the lack of domestic peace and comfort, attacks of homesickness, these general causes, not to speak of the unavoidable little irritations and vexations, are enough to produce even in the soundest body disturbances, which, tho they may not endanger life, nevertheless always reduce to a considerable extent the wealth on hand, and weaken the courage which is necessary to utilize adequately what is left. Most of the unsuccessful attempts at colonization in foreign lands have been wrecked on just such causes. They in themselves have nothing to do with the country. To the descendants of immigrants born in America they are unknown. I am convinced, that if several families, say ten or twenty, who are on friendly terms with one another, should spend a year here in the peaceful situation, such as the American is able to provide for himself so quickly in the midst of an unpeopled forest, they would never yearn again to return to Europe, to visit, yes, but never to stay there. Therefore I repeat, the success of emigration depends entirely upon the mode of its execution. And when everything has been attained, everything that the American is capable of attaining, the family that immigrates alone will feel the separation from old friends so much the more keenly, the less there is lacking externally

for its satisfaction. In Germany most of the people are so steeped in their domestic cares, that friendly intercourse with other families appears as a most subordinate matter. Here, where in the presence of abundance the cares disappear in great measure, the mind is freer, and nature will again turn to those things, by means of which its innate nobility can manifest itself in the highest degree.

"The customary talk in Europe about the wilderness and the deprivation of the products of culture is ill-founded. Here one can have with far less expenditure everything that is required for rural residence in Europe. The inexpensive up-keep of horses, the absence of every sort of road-toll, and the security against thieves and robbers lighten social intercourse so much, that only a lazy fool could ask for more. Neither is there a lack of schools, and the German parent, who does not value the loss of his mother tongue, has no cause to fear that the education of his children would suffer because of his immigration.

"A moderate amount of property, good guidance, medical aid for the first two years of residence, and the presence of friends from the Fatherland—these are the true conditions of successful immigration.

"The foregoing you must not interpret to mean that it is less healthful here than in Germany. Because in such undertakings even a slight ailment can cause the greatest disturbance; for this reason medical protection is more necessary here than at home, even tho nothing were to be feared of the privations connected with the first settlement. The state of Missouri on account of its clear sky is much more conducive to good health than is Germany. Whoever considers Germany, and central Europe generally, as a very healthful land, is lacking in ability to compare it with other regions of the earth.

"If a little city could be founded, for the purpose of making it the center of culture for the Germans in America, then there would soon arise a rejuvenated Germania, and the European Germans would then find in America a second

Fatherland, just as the British have it.[9] Would that in Germany a lively interest might develop for this project. No plan of the present time promises so much to the individual and to everyone as a plan of founding such a nursery for German culture in western North America, and especially in the lands west of the Mississippi. It would make the new world at once a home to the German, and would add to the gifts of nature those things which must always emanate from man himself. There is no cause for fear that any kind of political hindrance or envy on the part of the Americans would oppose such an enterprise. German immigrants are always welcome here, and as soon as they have entered upon the new continent they are regarded equal to the citizens,—barring, of course, the political rights, which are dependent upon a residence of five years, and at first are more of a hindrance than a help to him. I have already said, in another place, that even a foreigner may acquire land in the state of Missouri. A plan could be easily consummated, whereby the interests of science and the interest of profit could be most advantageously combined. The purchase of a tract of land for the purpose of laying out a town thereon is here a sure means of making money. The lands west of the Mississippi are for the natural scientist almost entirely a *terra incognita*. With slight expense scientific societies could support their representatives here. These representatives would not find it contrary to their main purpose to serve the young colonies as teachers in the higher sciences.

"How many men there are in Germany who have a capital of from four to six thousand Thaler (a Thaler is about seventy-five cents) without having any prospect of using it except to consume it by and by! Such a sum, however, is

[9]Such a town was actually founded in 1837 on an extensive tract of land which was bought by a German society of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. It was given the typically German name of HERMANN. Its site is on the south bank of the Missouri in Gasconade County, Missouri, about thirty miles west of Duden's farm. Tho the original dream of the founders did not materialize, the town of Hermann is to this day uniquely German. For a detailed account of this undertaking and a history of Hermann compare Bek's *The German Settlement Society of Philadelphia and its Colony, Hermann, Missouri*, Americana Germanica Press, Philadelphia, 1907.

more than abundant for the happy life of a whole family on the banks of the Missouri, even tho eight hundred to a thousand Thaler should be deduced as traveling expenses—provided that proper guidance is not wanting. With the above sum an immigrant could purchase two adult slaves, a man and a woman, which would cost him twelve hundred Thaler, and could establish himself in such a manner that he could live happier, and especially more carefree in view of the future lot of his numerous posterity, than he could in Germany with six times that amount. If the farmer is able to take care of his land himself, one thousand Thaler will be sufficient, if his transportation to America has otherwise been provided for. I am counting on one hundred and fifty to two hundred Thaler for eighty acres of land; forty-five to sixty Thaler for clearing and fencing five or seven acres; one hundred and twenty Thaler for two horses; twenty-six Thaler for two cows; twelve Thaler for two sows; one hundred for the buildings, and an equal amount for furniture. This makes at the most six hundred and eighteen Thaler. Thus there remains almost four hundred Thaler for other and less essential things, and in order to feel more at ease. If of this excess two hundred Thaler more are applied to the house, then the immigrant will certainly live better than the peasants in Germany, who till their own land, are accustomed to live. A quarter of a German mile from here there lives a planter by the name of Jacob Haun. He began to establish his homestead seven years ago. Because he possessed hardly one hundred Thaler, he lived, at first, on government land, and tried to earn there the amount required to buy one hundred and sixty acres of land. Then he carried on the work of the farmer on his own property, in the ordinary manner, and, without any outside help, acquired property worth three thousand Thaler. In the meantime his wife bore him five children. His household consumes annually more than twelve hundred pounds of pork, an ox weighing from to six hundred pounds, and several dozen chickens. In addition ten or twelve deer are shot and a great number of turkeys.

(The hunter does not waste any powder on the quail. These the children catch in traps.) Who would believe that so much meat could be consumed by a single household consisting of two adults and five children of which the oldest is hardly six years? Some of it is consumed by guests, of course. But the great amount that is required is due to the spendthrift way of handling this object, which is cheaper here than the most ordinary vegetable in Europe.

"There is general complaint in Germany on account of the decrease of marriages, and the superficial moralist sets up a cry of immorality, without considering that poverty is the real cause of this condition, and that immorality is simply its consequence, and indeed the unavoidable consequence. Only a thoughtless person can raise a family without considering the future prospect of his children. Among the lower classes marriages have not decreased, tho their morals have become worse and worse. That is a lamentable and unnatural condition of our poor Fatherland, a condition which will never be corrected of its own accord. The only reasonable remedy for it is a general furtherance of emigration. There is no holier duty for the German states than to care for good guidance and direction of such emigration. To seek to oppose it, when apparently it is the instinctive course of action, is simply to oppose nature and reason. The blame for the unfortunate consequences cannot be attributed to the uncultured classes, but must rest upon the shoulders of those whose duty it is to assist them by counsel and advice in their distresses of life. When the conditions imposed on wealthy emigrants are lightened, and their enterprise is furthered; when the state assumes the faithful guidance to the new fatherland; when benevolent societies are formed to help even the poor to go to countries, where the alluring gifts of nature accustom even the beggar to regularity of action, then will the lamentable reports concerning emigration soon cease. Unfortuneatly just the opposite has hitherto been done in Germany. But time, which has ere this blotted out so much systematic nonsense, will also correct this madness of population-seeking states, which in reality are already over-populated.

"The above conditions of emigration apply only to those who choose to pursue agriculture chiefly. Hitherto I have spoken, almost exclusively, of the prospects of agriculture, which are so splendid that during the whole of the present century they cannot become worse, even after the immigration of millions. It is of course manifest that in a country which rests upon such a physical basis as this one does, the other trades must also prosper, provided only that legislation remains passive and avoids foolish interference. There are but few trades which do not prosper here. The prospects are most favorable for tanners, skilled mechanics, joiners, masons, carpenters, saddlers and blacksmiths. To the tanners I wish to say that hides and dyeing materials are extremely cheap, while, on the other hand, leather is expensive. The saddlers I wish to note, that in this country no one goes on foot. There is a great lack of glass factories. A common flask costs twelve and a half cents in St. Louis. Earthenware, too, is very dear. There is no lack of good clay, and since private ownership does not hinder in its utilization and in the selection of sites where it may be obtained, finer varieties of clay, suitable for finer and more delicate vessels, will doubtless soon be discovered, and indeed, perhaps, in the proximity of navigable rivers and near dense forest. Beer brewers would quickly become rich on the Missouri, tho they would have to see to the raising of hops and barley themselves, since little attention has been paid to the cultivation of these two crops. St. Louis derives its beer from Pittsburg, and even from the Atlantic coast. The manufacturers of chemicals and of medicines would find in all the western states enticing opportunities for their business. I need hardly add that master builders are always welcome in this land of ceaseless town building.

"Immigrants who intend to take up trade must settle in or, at least, near cities. There they may expect to have medical aid, which is as good as in Europe. There the necessity of having social intercourse with friends of the Fatherland will not appear so necessary either. One condition,

however, is imperative for every immigrant, namely this: Bring some capital with you. Even tho the trades do not require capital to begin with, nevertheless, it is problematic whether the new-comer would find work at once. Moreover, it is a question whether he, under the new conditions, would be able to find employment long enough to secure a slight reserve to fall back upon in case of sickness. If, under such circumstances, he should be inclined to ask for alms, as is the custom sometimes, he would come into disrepute, which would make a rapid promotion next to impossible. Quite especially must I warn the prospective German immigrant against entertaining the hope of earning his support by mere day labor. In the interior of America the German would find most of the tasks of the day laborer quite new and unknown to him. He must first learn them and gradually become accustomed to them, otherwise his health will fail in a few weeks, and in spite of the greatest exertion he will not be able to accomplish half of what another can do quite easily without in the least endangering his health. The tasks of the day-laborer are: grubbing out tree stumps, killing trees by girdling them, felling of trees, and splitting rails for the fences. The latter kind of work is wholly unknown in Germany, and without practice one's energy is in a very large measure wasted. Of the lot of those unfortunate ones, finally, who give themselves over to a temporary state of slavery, in order to pay for their passage across the ocean, I do not which to speak at all. Only a galley-slave can find a betterment of his condition in such a state. They are called redemptionists or white slaves here. They have a much harder lot than the negro slave, and it is incomprehensible to me how certain German writers can pass so lightly over this matter. Mere selfishness, if nothing else, make it imperative upon the owner to take care of the negro's health. Besides the negro is accustomed to the climate, most of them call America their fatherland and have never known freedom. The poor Europeans, who fancy to have gained admission to the land of their dreams, after the hardships of the journey find themselves cast into

fetters of slavery for a sum which a healthy day-laborer could earn in six months, while they are kept in this bondage for a period of five or seven and even more years. Wives are separated from their husbands and children from their parents, perhaps never to see each other again. For the very reason that but little can be expected of such laborers during the first years, the period of services is much prolonged. Let no one imagine that these first years are easy years. They are the hardest of all. The fact that a few have worked themselves thru and have later become rich does not alter the general condition at all. Ten perish miserably where one succeeds.

"Therefore I repeat: Emigration without some capital is a risk which only the most dire necessity should impel one to undertake."

Then we read the injunction to immigrants that they must use their brain with their brawn if they hope to succeed in America. The difference between American and European agriculture, so often mentioned, are again reiterated, always to the advantage of America. Due warning is given not to let the cheapness and excellence of the land induce one to buy too much land. The sad condition of one thus 'land-poor' is depicted.

The remainder of this letter, for it is in two parts, deals with the prosperous condition of the Free States, their finances, their military strength, and their postal system.

As proof that the North Americans are progressive, he points to the various canals that have been built or are in the process of construction at the time of his writing, viz. the canal between the Hudson and Lake Erie, the canal connecting the Ohio with Lake Erie, the canal at Louisville around the falls of the Ohio, the canal circumventing the Niagara Falls. Then we read: "A few days ago I learned that a plan has been worked out to construct a railroad from Chesapeake Bay across the Alleghany Mountains to the Ohio." To this we find a foot note subjoined which reads thus: "This is not merely a plan anymore. Its execution was begun as early

as 1828. A stock company with a capital of several million dollars was formed in a few weeks, during my stay in Baltimore. If the work is really brought to completion, it must arouse the astonishment of the whole world. An arrangement will be made whereby from twelve to twenty freight cars can be fastened to one another which can be quickly transported along by a single locomotive. Railroads will have this advantage over canals, that ice can not interfere with them." Duden recognizes that the use of steamboats and railroads will have an effect upon the development of America such as to make it impossible to divine the future by the conditions of the past. The remainder of the letter deals with statistical facts derived from the reports of the United States Treasurer, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Postmaster General. The army, according to the report, including the general staff, the engineering corps, and the medical staff numbered 5719 men. There was no cavalry and no field artillery. The navy consisted of seven battleships, six frigates of the first class, four frigates of the second class, two corvettes, five sloops, and nine small warships, moreover a number of schooners and brigs. On the wharfs there are in the process of construction five battleships, four frigates and three sloops. The Postmaster General's report showed that from July, 1823, to the 24th of November, 1825, new post offices to the number of 1040 had been established. The number of employees of this branch of service was roughly estimated to be between fifteen and twenty thousand. The income from July 1, 1824, to July 1, 1825, was about one and one-fourth million, and the expenditure for this same time about one and one-fifth million.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS.

The papers printed in this issue of the *Review* cover a range of subject matter as well as of years. Mr. White's paper is concerned with commercial life in Missouri during the first fifty years of the nineteenth century. Mr. Britton's article deals with religious, economic, political and military affairs in Northwest Missouri during the '30s. Dr. Bek again takes the reader back to pioneer life in Missouri in the '20s, and Dr. Viles covers a century of Missouri capitals and capitols.

"The Missouri Merchant One Hundred Years Ago," by Mr. John B. White, president of the Missouri Valley Historical Society, at Kansas City, Missouri, throws interesting sidelights on business conditions in pioneer Missouri. The methods of barter and exchange, the measures of value, the prices of commodities, and the opportunities presented the storekeeper and trader of a century past, are set forth. The world prominence of St. Louis today as a raw fur center was laid in those early years. The men who founded that city and developed her industrial life were empire builders. So were those merchant traders who setting out from old Franklin, Independence, and St. Joseph traversed the plains, crossed the mountains, and explored and trapped and traded to the Coast. The Missouri merchant one hundred years ago was not only a shopkeeper but frequently the head of an enterprising business which involved trips to Baltimore and Philadelphia, and expeditions to the far West. Much of Missouri's early prosperity was linked with the success of this pioneer merchant-trader, who hand in hand with the lead-miner and the farmer laid the basis of Missouri's economic wealth.

"Early Days on Grand River and The Mormon War," by Mr. Rollin J. Britton, of Kansas City, Missouri, is replete with documentary material relating to this interesting historical subject. Mr. Britton is exceptionally well qualified to write

on the history of the Mormons in Missouri. This subject can never be finally and satisfactorily handled unless the author takes an impersonal point of view. Mr. Britton has done this. As a lawyer in his former home at Gallatin, Missouri, he collected data for years. He specialized in the history of Northwest Missouri, the Mormons in Missouri, and the career of Col. Alexander W. Doniphan. The article in this *Review* reveals his scholarly research work.

The readers of the *Review* will learn with regret that the April (1919) issue will contain the last article of Dr. Bek's translation of "Duden's Report." This series of articles has kept the attention of hundreds of readers of Missouri history for over a year. A prominent banker in the State recently informed us that whenever the *Review* came, he laid aside work to read "Duden," because of his scholarly and accurate description of pioneer Missouri. Fortunately for the *Review*, Dr. Bek will begin a new series of illustrated articles in the July (1919) *Review* on "The Followers of Duden." The new series will be translations of old diaries and letters kept by those who, having read "Duden's 'Report'," were induced to immigrate to Missouri. The unlocking of these old records will reveal treasures of historical material relating to the State.

"Missouri Capitals and Capitols," by Dr. Jonas Viles, of the University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, is the result of several years of labor by this eminent and scholarly Missouri historian. The subject is interesting and has attracted the attention of several writers. A number of popular articles have been written on Missouri's many capitols and on her three seats of government. From the beginning of Missouri state history in 1820, this subject ranked high in legislative discussion and decision. The state Constitutional Convention of 1820 was more concerned and spent more time in drafting and adopting Article XI, "Of the Permanent Seat of Government," and Section 6 of the "Schedule," on the meeting place of the first State General Assembly, than it was in any other subject, except perhaps the salaries of officials. The same

condition prevailed at the first session of the first State General Assembly. All this has been known to historians, and is not unique in the history of western American commonwealths. The first State Constitutional Convention of Illinois in 1818 had the same problem. The location of the state capitol, the state prison and later the state university and other institutions, were matters of the greatest concern to the people and the politicians of a hundred years ago.

In Dr. Viles' article will be noted many new angles to this question. Some are amusing, as the interdependence of the state penitentiary and the state capitol. Again, the capital city land claims against the state after the supposed absence of such litigation was a chief inducement in the selection of Jefferson City as the capital. Two facts stand out in this article that should be the pride of all Missourians—the seeming absence of graft in the building of all of Missouri's capitols and in the selecting of both her temporary and permanent capitols. Both are rare in the history of states.

The sixth article on "Missouri and the War" will be included in the April (1919) issue of the *Review*. Final data on Missouri's war honors and heroism and on Missouri's Roll of Honor could not be obtained from the Government's publications when this number went to press. It was thought advisable to wait until a complete summary could be made. The official figures in detail on Missouri's response to the Fourth Liberty Loan had also not been published by the St. Louis and Kansas City Federal Reserve Districts. It is hoped that these will be available by February as well as official figures on the state's part in the 1918 Thrift Stamps and War Savings purchases.

GENERAL

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

Owing to the influenza epidemic and the ban placed on public meetings in Columbia, the Annual Meeting of The State Historical Society of Missouri scheduled on December 13th was postponed indefinitely. The report of the Secretary of the Society on behalf of the Executive Committee, would

have revealed some interesting statements of progress. During this biennial period the Society's annual membership showed a net increase of ninety-three—the largest in the Society's history. The total membership is now eleven hundred and forty-five. The Society's library was increased by the addition of 11,721 titles of which 7,293 were books and 4,328 were pamphlets. The total number of titles in the library is now 79,083, besides 101,000 duplicates of Missouri official publications. The most notable single addition of books and pamphlets during 1917-1918 was the General Oden Guitar collection. This included 95 books, 285 pamphlets, 206 manuscripts, 16 old political Missouri broadsides (very rare), and 17 prints. The newspaper department invoiced 7,312 bound volumes on January 1, 1917, today this number has increased to 9,236,—a gain of 26%. In no previous biennial period has this department witnessed so large an increase. The Society's library staff is now composed of five regular employed persons and one on the hour employment basis.

A HISTORY OF MISSOURI, BY EUGENE MORROW VIOLETTE: (D. C. HEALTH & CO., BOSTON, 1918.)

This new history of Missouri by Professor E. M. Violette of the Kirksville (Missouri) State Normal School is written, as he points out in the preface, with a twofold purpose; to fill the need of a new manual of Missouri history and to provide a book of reference to be used in the high schools of the state in connection with courses in American history. The plan is to give "no space..... to things that are strictly local. The effort has been to deal with only those topics in Missouri history that have significance in the history of the nation." "A statement is made at the beginning of each chapter indicating the subject in our national history that constitutes the historical setting for that chapter." The general purpose of the book, then, is to present certain aspects of Missouri history which are parts of national movements, but not to provide a complete and exhaustive manual of Missouri history.

The author's problems have evidently been largely ones

of selection and viewpoint. As to selection, of the twenty-three chapters and 466 pages of the body of the book, five chapters of 98 pages are devoted to Missouri before 1820; a chapter of 41 pages to the admission of Missouri; a chapter each to Early Banking, Doniphan's Expedition, Miissouri and the Far West, the Mormons, and the Railroads, in all 110 pages, devoted to the most part to the perioil 1820 to 1850; a chapter of 36 pages to the Downfall of Benton; one of 18 pages to Slavery; another of the same length to Border Troubles; five totalling 85 pages to the Civil War period; one of 17 pages to Radical Rule; one of 12 pages to politics, 1872 to 1876; one of 6 pages to the Free Silver movement; and in conclusion a chapter of 25 pages on Recent Economic and Social Development. About half the book then is devoted to the period before 1821 and the decade 1860 to 1870; and at least ninety per cent of it to the period before 1876.

On the topics which he treats Professor Violette has used with care and intelligence the best secondary accounts available. The bibliographies at the ends of the chapters and at the close of the book show neither the omission of studies of importance nor the inclusion of books of dubious value. In a work so largely factual in treatment it is impossible for the reviewer to verify all statements, but a rather careful examination convinces me that the book contains very few positive errors in facts. The proof reading and the index confirm this impression of careful workmanship.

However, in my opinion the attempt to correlate Missouri history with national history has not been strikingly successful. As a matter of fact it is confined to a very great degree to the brief statements of "Historical Setting" at the heads of the chapters and even here the correlation is sometimes rather arbitrary. Chapter V, "Conditions in Missouri during the Territorial Period" has for its historical setting "The Missouri Compromise;" Chapter IX, "Missouri and the Far West," is connected with "The War between the United States and Mexico;" in neither case is the setting mentioned in the body of the chapter. "Pioneer Life" and "National Expansion

into the Far West" would seem to be more natural settings. But the greater weakness of this interesting attempt at correlation is after all the failure to emphasize it more consistently. During the period to which much of the book is devoted Missouri was at once a frontier and a border state; it might perhaps be fairly expected that Missouri history would be discussed as illustrating and explaining these topics in national history. This viewpoint is not very prominent in much of the discussion of the topics actually treated; besides, it seems to demand a consideration of some topics omitted. For example, a chapter on Jacksonian Democracy in Missouri, written around the earlier career of Benton and Missouri politics, 1820-40, would strengthen very much the treatment of that period—far more than the chapter on Early Banking, or even that on the Mormons, good as the latter is.

But those of us who have attempted any serious writing on Missouri history know all too well the difficulties and discouragements. Only here and there was there islands of reputable and reliable studies, rising from the confusion of unorganized source material. The difficulties are especially trying to one attempting a manual covering, if only from one point of view, the whole period. What Professor Violette has done has been to confine himself for the most part to topics on which there is reasonably satisfactory secondary material, and treat these topics with care and accuracy, tho not always, perhaps, with as much connection with national development as is possible. It certainly is not his fault that these topics are as yet so few; it is ill to make bricks without straw, and it is certainly unfair to demand that the writer of a manual engage in elaborate investigations of source material. The fact is that it is not yet possible to write an adequate survey of Missouri history even in its national aspects. Professor Violette has given us what is on the whole the best single volume on Missouri history available to the general reader.—*Jonas Viles.*

IN MEMORIAM

IVAN HOLLIS EPPERSON.
1888-1918.

Perhaps the most notable sacrifice Macon County offered on the altar of patriotism was that of Ivan Hollis Epperson, who died at sea October 11, and was buried in the cemetery, in the community where he was reared, in the presence of a large crowd of friends and relatives, most of them people who had known him from his birth.

Ivan was the son of Mr. and Mrs. W. O. Epperson, who live on a farm near Macon. He was born in the western part of Macon County, July 11, 1888. In his seventeenth year he united with the Christian church at LaPlata. Soon after finishing the public schools he entered the newspaper business, serving two years as assistant in the publication of the *La Plata Home Press*, and later took charge as editor and manager. It was while in that position that Ivan decided on his career. He would be an editor and publisher, and to reach the highest degree of service in those callings, he resigned his position with the *Home Press* after three successful years' management of that paper and entered the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri, at Columbia. While there he became interested in history, and the more he delved into it the more he liked it. He accepted a position in the State Historical Society of Missouri as chief of the newspaper and document departments. A mutual attachment sprang up between Mr. Epperson and Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker, editor of the *Missouri Historical Review*. This pleasant association continued with ever-growing strength until the winter of 1917, when Mr. Epperson, impelled by a sense of duty to his country, enlisted at the Great Lakes Naval Station, and, after some months of preparation was assigned to duty as a seaman on the large United States Transport George Washington.

IVAN HOLLIS EPPERSON
1888-1918

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As contributor to the *Missouri Historical Review*, Mr. Epperson wrote a number of sketches about notable Missourians. Among the latest was one covering the life of General John J. Pershing, the victorious commander of the American Expeditionary Force, and later the Army of Occupation in Germany. It was written with good tact, a keen sense of General Pershing's well known modesty, and his aversion to anything like excessive laudation. It presented to the American public a picture of the commander that has been pronounced by those who knew him best as remarkably accurate. Only a man of infinite modesty himself and capable of appreciating that trait in others could have written it.

The thing that brought Ivan steadfast friends was his sincerity. Beginning with an absolute faith in God, he also believed in his fellow-men. The writer never recalls having heard him use a critical or sneering word about anybody. Whether talking with men or women it was all one—the language he used and the things he spoke of while with men might always be repeated with perfect propriety among the gentlest of women. It was as though his mother were always by, listening. His mind was as free from impurity as the falling snow. When he spoke it was to present an idea, a thought, never just to be talking. The trait is rare for one of his years. He appreciated the value of time, and that he must be up and doing if he would reach the mark he had set. Having taken his own measurement, he felt the editorial department was the one he would be best fitted to fill on a newspaper, and was giving himself the training necessary to make good. He liked the study of history, civil government, men and events, rightly weighing their knowledge as the proper equipment for the profession he had chosen.

Mr. Epperson's death was occasioned by pneumonia. It occurred while his ship was making the fourth voyage across. The remains were sent to Macon county by the government, and interred in the picturesque cemetery near the scenes where Ivan lived and played as a boy. On the large white casket was a broad United States flag. The grave was lined with cloth

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representing the national colors, red, white and blue. Elder George Edwards, of the Primitive Baptist church, delivered a short, but impressive ceremony. Then the choir, composed of good friends Ivan had known all his life, sang as the concluding hymn:

"I am longing for the coming of the snow-white angel hand,
That shall bear my weary spirit to the sinless summer land."—*Edgar White, Macon, Mo.*

WAR MEMORIALS:

The signing of the armistice has turned the attention of the Nation from war to peace. The problems of reconstruction seem greater than the plans of battle. All unite to support the latter, but even patriots blaze different paths to solve the former. War concentrates the people's efforts in one direction, supplies them with a common purpose. Peace invites them to renew old differences, separates them thru divergence of motives and ideals. Individualistic principles run counter to collectivism theories, profits come to conflict with wages and service, business struggles with new conditions and higher standards of living, and inflated prices are defended and denounced by the same household. War, has, however, left one unity of purpose in the minds of all classes. This is a loving wish and a purposed plan to erect War Memorials. To this Missouri and Missourians have already given unanimous expression.

The forms of such memorials will probably be diverse. Some counties are suggesting memorial armories, some Y. M. C. A. "Huts," others monuments and statues and parks, and others loan-funds to needy soldiers and their families. All are good. Local conditions, the personnel of the local committee, the inclination of the local editor, will determine largely the final selection. Objections can be raised against any form of memorial, but this should not be permitted to defeat the general proposition. The loyal citizens of Missouri owe it to themselves and to their men in arms, to erect a permanent memorial to their part in this war.

The *Review* has been requested to express an opinion on this patriotic and historical movement. It feels hesitant to do this in the face of such a wealth of suggestions.

A War Memorial should embody honor to the martyred heroes, the brave survivors, and the civilian supporters of that war. It should, if possible, be both a pillar of patriotic strength and aid to the living and a dedicated monument to the dead. If possible, it should also be a work of helpfulness to the rising and future generations. The *Review* would dedi-

cate such a memorial to the patriotic past, would have it commemorate the patriotic present, and would leave it as a guide to make patriotism endure.

A WAR MEMORIAL BUILDING in each county and in every town of size would embody these ideals. It would stand as a monument to a people's patriotism and democracy. In it should be the home and quarters of a local historical society and museum—thus combining in one, a memorial to the dead, a monument to the living, and an educational and patriotic shrine for those coming after us. The War Memorial Building might well be constructed to serve as a library where such a building does not exist in a county, town or city. On its walls chiseled in marble should be the names of those who gave their all that we might continue to enjoy untrampled the blessings of liberty. In its chambers could be displayed the weapons of this and former wars and the relics of pioneer days. In its book stacks and shelves could be kept the records of those who have contributed to our civilization. Such a work presents great possibilities. A small auditorium where lectures to adults and historical instruction to children may be given, could well be added. This building would become the civic center to the resident and the city's pride to the visitor. Without encroaching on church, library or school it would stand as the handmaid of all. Such a War Memorial would be a shrine, a monument, and an educational and patriotic and historical social center. Its value would grow with the years, and generations yet unborn would find in it their most sacred treasures.

PERSONAL.

JOSEPH T. BIRD: Born near Washington, New York, July 4, 1848; died at Colorado Springs, Colorado, September 8, 1918. He came to Kansas City in 1868 and became a clerk in a store then familiarly known as "Bullene's". In 1875 he bought an interest in the store, and in 1881 became a full partner in the firm of Bullene, Moore, Emery & Co. This firm later developed into the present company known as

Emery, Bird, Thayer Dry Goods Company. Mr. Bird gradually acquired a controlling interest in the firm, and in 1912 was made its president.

HON. T. D. EVANS: Born in Madison County, Kentucky, September 6, 1844; died at Meadville, Missouri, July 23, 1918. He came to Missouri when twelve years of age, settling first in Pettis County and later at Meadville in Linn County. During the Civil War he saw active service with the Sixty-Second Regiment, Missouri State Militia. In 1882 he was elected judge of the county court and was re-elected in 1884. In 1890 he was elected as Linn County's representative in the Missouri Legislature.

HON. FRANK C. HAYMAN: Born in a military garrison at Fort Lawson, Indian Territory, January 8, 1854; died at Sedalia, Missouri, October 29, 1918. His father was General S. B. Hayman of the U. S. Army. He graduated from the University of Michigan in 1873 and afterwards spent two years traveling in Europe. He came to Missouri in 1877 and engaged extensively in farming and stock raising. He was elected State Senator from the Fifteenth district in 1906 and served one term.

CAPT. HUNTER BEN JENKINS: Born in Allegheny City, Virginia, February 22, 1839; died at St. Louis, Missouri, September 9, 1918. In 1855 he started a steamboat career as mail clerk on the steamer Gossamer, which plied the Mississippi and tributary streams. He later owned a number of steamboats on the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and was at different times river editor of the *St. Louis Republic*, the old *St. Louis Chronicle*, the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, and the *New Orleans Times-Democrat*.

HON. CHARLES MCDONALD MATTHEWS: Born in Gasconade County, Missouri, November 11, 1836; died in Gasconade County October 2, 1918. He served in the Union Army during the Civil War. After the close of the war he was for twelve years judge of the Gasconade County court and in 1892 was elected to the lower house of the Missouri General Assembly from Gasconade County. He was noted as one of the pioneer avodcates of good roads.

THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

Subscription Price, $1.00 a Year

The *Missouri Historical Review* is a quarterly magazine devoted to Missouri history, genealogy and literature. It is now being sent to eleven hundred members of the Society. The subscription price is one dollar a year.

Each number of the *Review* contains several articles on Missouri and Missourians. These articles are the result of research work in Missouri history. The style of presentation is as popular as is permissible in a publication of this character.

Missourians are interested in their State Historical Society. The *Review* appeals to this interest by summarizing the recent activities of the Society. It also does this of other state-wide organizations of a historical or patriotic character. Important historical happenings are also chronicled and members of the Society are urged to make this complete for their section of Missouri. The general Missouri items include biographical sketches of individuals in public life or of historic fame.

Manuscripts and letters on all Missouri subjects of a historical or biographical nature are welcome, and will be read and decided upon with as little delay as possible.

Twelve volumes of the *Review* have been published. A few complete sets are still obtainable from the Society—Vols. 1-12, bound in best library buckram, $40.00; unbound, $25.00. Separate volumes, unbound, except Vol. 1, as follows: Vols. 2, 3 and 6, each $3.00; Vols. 4 and 5, each $2.00; Vols. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12, each $1.00. Prices of reprints of most important articles given on request.

All editorial and business communications should be addressed to Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary, The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

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No. 6—MISSOURIANS ABROAD

DAVID R. FRANCIS, AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY TO RUSSIA.

By Walter B. Stevens.

Five days before the armistice was signed, eight sailors lifted a stretcher and carried the American Ambassador on board the Olympia at Archangel. During almost three years in Russia the drafts upon a magnificent physique had been honored by nature. But on November 6th, 1918, they went to protest. And David R. Francis was on his way to a United States Army base hospital.

As head of the United States Commission, appointed by President Wilson, Charles R. Crane went to Russia in the midst of revolution and counter revolution. When he came back to the United States, he said:

"If Francis was to quit his post I do not know where in all of the United States we would find a man to fill his place."

Only when the diplomatic files are opened, and the white books, the red books, the blue books and those other official publications of confidential correspondence between nations appear will the full measure of this Missourian's historic stature in the world's war be realized by his fellow citizens. At intervals there have come out of Russia fragments of infor-

mation, through various channels, showing that life at the American embassy has been strenuous. When Ambassador Francis went to Russia he was accredited to a monarchy and held official relations with the government of a czar. Then came revolution, the constitutional assembly, Kerensky and the military regime, soldiers' and sailors' councils, soviets and the Bolsheviki. And finally the efforts of law and order elements, scattered and struggling, under various leaders and names, to throw off the demoralizing influence of anarchy. Through all, the American Ambassador stayed on, moving from place to place, living on trains, issuing his courageous counsel to the Russian people, urging continuance of alliance with the entente countries as against the German intrigue. For weeks at a time he was without communication from Washington. Again and again it was left to his discretion whether he should leave Russia. But not until the American embassy staff was reduced to fewer than half a dozen persons and physical breakdown came, did the Ambassador permit himself to be taken away from Russia on a stretcher.

When Ambassador Francis went abroad, he was accompanied by Philip Jordan. "Phil" is of Missouri and known beyond the borders of the State. In European countries his relation to the Ambassador might be termed that of valet, but he is much more than that. In Mexico, Phil would be given the title of major domo to the Francis household. His titular status cannot be fixed with brevity in the language of the United States. When Mr. Francis was governor of Missouri, Phil became attached to the executive mansion staff. When the governor came back to St. Louis, Phil came and stayed on, making himself intelligently indispensable to Mr. Francis through the period of the World's Fair and after. When the time came for departure to Petrograd, Phil went to "take care of the Ambassador." Intimate views of the embassy life are given in the letters which Phil has written home. This account of the exciting past year, which is especially illuminating, was sent to Collins Thompson, now of the *St. Louis Re-*

David R. Francis © T. Kajiwara

public, and for many years the confidential secretary of Mr. Francis:

"After leaving Petrograd we went to Vologda, which is 350 miles east of Petrograd. In the party were the American Ambassador and staff, the French Ambassador and staff, the Italian Ambassador and staff, the Japanese, Chinese, Brazilian and Serbian ministers, with all their staffs. This crowd took two special trains. We lived in Vologda five months. On July, the 20th, the Ambassador told me to pack up just as soon as I could because we would have to leave Vologda as soon as possible. After six hours' hard work I told the Ambassador that I was all packed up and ready to leave at any time. We left Vologda because the Bolsheviks gave the Ambassador notice that unless he and all his staff came to Moscow they could not protect him any longer. Of course, the Ambassador could not think of going to Moscow and giving the Germans a chance to capture him. So he decided to go to Archangel, which is 350 miles north of Vologda.

"Leaving Vologda July 20th, with two special trains, we arrived in Archangel three days later. Think what a mixed party we had,—Americans, English, French, Chinese, Japanese, Italians, Brazilians, Serbians. We remained in Archangel three days, and then the Ambassador discovered that the Bolsheviks were too strong. So with two ships and one destroyer we steamed out of the city of Archangel. We were all ready to leave at 7 p. m., but we did not pull out until 4 a. m. I found out later that the Bolsheviks were in session all this time, trying to decide if they would allow us to depart. At last, at 4 a. m., we were told to go. We crossed the White Sea in three days and then landed at Kandalaska, where the Ambassador, with twenty-five or thirty others, left by rail over the worst railroad I ever was on. We had ten box cars with some rough boards to sit on—no beds, no chairs. I had eight in my party to see that they got something to eat three times a day. I had a small spirit lamp to cook on, but the road was so awfully rough that I could not use it. I must tell you that when you travel through Russia you must carry everything you need with you—all your bedclothes—everything you want to cook with and eat. Our food by this time was very short,—black sour bread, tea, corned beef and hard tack,—some food for diplomats. I wondered how I could serve what I had,—ten box cars, and the train running all the time. It was impossible to go through the train. Well, I would wait until the train stopped for wood or water, and I would run from car to car giving each one of my eight men a hard tack and corned beef sandwich.

"You know the Russians are great tea drinkers; so all along the railroads they have places where you can get boiling water to

make tea. Our cook at Archangel would drink tea for two hours at a time. I have watched and counted, and at each sitting she would drink fifty cups of tea. Any amateur could drink from twenty to thirty glasses.

"We arrived after three days at Murmansk, Lapland. If you will look at the map you will see that we were not very far from the Arctic Circle. It gets a little chilly up there,—sixty or seventy below zero. It was quite dark when we arrived, but the next morning when I looked out I saw one grand and glorious sight. The harbor was full of American, French and British battleships, mine sweepers, destroyers and every kind of machine to kill a man. They all certainly did look good to me, but the grandest sight of them all was the Stars and Stripes flying in the breeze from the beautiful cruiser, Olympia. After being knocked about by the Bolsheviks it began to look as if we had, at last, found some real protection.

"The Ambassador went aboard and lived three days on the Olympia. He had Admiral Dewey's cabin, with a large 6-inch gun on each side of his bed. My! What a change! Think of it! Three meals a day, with white bread,—a splendid band which furnished music twice a day. The Ambassador asked me how I liked the change. All I could say was that things come to him who waits. The Ambassador told me to pack up and be ready to leave next day at 6 p. m. We left for Kandalaska where two ships were waiting for us. Before we arrived the British and French had left Murmansk with their battleships and after some pretty stiff fighting were successful in taking Archangel from the Bolsheviks. When we arrived we heard about the Russian destroyer that brought us from Archangel to Murmansk. It left without permission, fired twenty or thirty shots on the town and was off for Archangel to notify the Bolsheviks that the fleet was on its way. This destroyer had only one man on it, who did all the firing and the steering. He would run down and fire and then back to the wheelhouse. He did this all the way across the White Sea. Just about the time he had finished his long journey, a shot from a French man-of-war sent him to the bottom. Our trip across was very pleasant, without any mishaps. We had two British submarine destroyers with us. The sea was as calm as could be. Our ship was in the lead, the other just behind, and the two destroyers on the sides. On our second day out, I saw one sight which I shall always remember. To the west of us, you could see that great ball of fire, the sun, going down in the ocean. We were on the promenade deck, when all rushed forward. We thought sure our last day had come. Away off as far as one could see, a white streak was heading towards our ship. It looked just like a tor-

pedo. But when it was close enough we discovered it was a flock of ducks. My! What a relief!

"We arrived in Archangel at 11 a. m., on August 5th. The British were in full charge. We lived on the ship for eight or ten days. Then the Ambassador, his secretary, Mr. Johnstone, and I went to live in an apartment with a man, his wife and three children. When the Bolsheviks left Archangel, they were like the devil when they cast him out of heaven,—they took everything they could with them. We were now settled once more and happy. We lived in Archangel from the 5th of August until the 6th of November. On the 3rd of November the Ambassador was taken with a chill and for one week he was a very sick man. He did not improve, but was growing worse. So the doctors decided the best thing to do was to get the Ambassador to London just as soon as possible and have an operation performed. The Ambassador cabled the State department and they put him in touch with Admiral Sims, who was in charge of the cruiser, Olympia. The cruiser was rushed to Archangel, arriving on November 4th. On the 6th eight sailors with a stretcher carried the Ambassador on board and we were ready to sail, but the Olympia was drawing 28 feet of water and there were only 27 feet of water at the bar. So we waited two days for the tide.

"On the morning of the 8th, at 7:30, we pulled out of the city of Archangel, headed for London. We arrived at Murmansk, Lapland, on the 11th, took on coal for two days, and on the 13th, after the ship was put in good shape, the Olympia, at 7 a. m., slipped out of the harbor as though she was stealing away from the other ships. I am not at all superstitious, but I shall never forget that morning of November 13th. In about three hours we steamed into the Arctic Ocean. And then our troubles began. We struck the worst gale that any ship ever went through without being wrecked. For five days we fought that gale. You know during war time all the ships, while running, are without lights,—light only from sun up to sun down. All this time the Ambassador was in Admiral Dewey's cabin, and a very sick man. Out of a crew of four hundred, almost all were deathly seasick; old-timers that were never seasick before were down and out. The captain told me that the wind was blowing ninety miles an hour. The captain never left the bridge, up all night and all day. On the bridge they have in brass tacks where Dewey stood when he issued his famous order at Manila Bay to 'Fire, Mr. Gridley, when you are ready.' I was standing on these tacks when the captain told me about the wind. Captain Bierer was in full charge; he is about forty or fifty years of age, with a face as hard as steel. He never smiled, only when the sun was shining. As the sun does not

rise in the Arctic until 10:30 and goes down at 3:30, you see that he did not have but a very short time for smiles.

"The doctor went up to see the captain about the men down in the boiler rooms. He told the captain that it was impossible for the men to stand it any longer. The captain said, 'Why can't they stand it? They have been standing it and they will continue to stand it,' he said. 'I know what those men can stand, better than all the doctors in the world.' About this time I thought I would go down and see how they were getting along. My! Oh my! How those poor men could stand it, I could not see. While I was down for fifteen minutes, three of them were knocked out. The captain called down, asked how many boilers were working. The chief told him six. The captain told him, 'Start the others as quick as you can and let me know when you are ready.' The chief engineer informed the captain all was ready. The captain said, 'Now give her ——. We went at eighteen knots an hour.

"The Ambassador had been growing worse. He told me to tell the captain to come to his cabin. He told the captain it was awfully important that he should reach London just as soon as possible. Then it was the captain gave the order to 'give her ——.'

"We were on our fourth day out, and rounding the north coast of Norway. The Ambassador called me at 2 a. m., and said, 'Phil, I am burning up. Can't you get me a drink of some kind?' His fever had jumped to 104. I on a strange ship and not a light. All as dark as could be, and, oh, I was so seasick. I never thought any one could be so sick and still live. The doctor passed my cot; I had it lashed to one of the 6-inch guns because that was the only way I could keep it on the floor. The doctor said, 'How are you feeling Phil?' I said, 'Oh, doctor, I am so sick.' 'Well,' he said, 'You will be all right when you get on land.' I said, 'I'm afraid I'll die before I will see land.' He said, 'Well, you know people are dying every day,'—such encouragement. I went to the pantry and made the Ambassador a malted milk and egg, which he said was a great relief. I returned to my bucking cot and in twenty minutes he called again; he could not sleep. The doctor did not have any alcohol, but Bourbon whiskey. I rubbed the Ambassador down and at 7 a. m. he was still having a good sleep. I, on hands and knees started for the bathroom, because my stomach told me that was the best place for me after heaving all the anchors on board. I looked through the port hole and saw one welcome and beautiful sight. We were in the Atlantic Ocean. The sea was as calm as could be and the sun was shining brightly. At two o'clock two British submarine destroyers were steaming towards us to take us through the mine zone. We received word by wireless that peace was in sight, but the captain told all men to

stand by the guns. He said, 'Those —— Germans never keep their word. If you see anything like a submarine, give it —'—.' We did not see anything. The next afternoon at four o'clock we arrived at a small seaport on the north coast of Scotland, called Invergordon. Three or four officers came aboard, and after a short talk with the Ambassador, he was again put on a stretcher, Mr. Johnstone and I going along with him. When all was ready we were off to the United States Army base hospital, which was eighteen miles up on the mountain. We put the Ambassador to bed and he started to improve at once, and is still improving every day. We will remain here until the Ambassador is strong enough to travel and then we will go to London."

David R. Francis inherited the physique which enabled him at past three-score to go through these nerve-racking experiences. His ancestors were English, Scotch and Welsh. This extraordinary combination of sturdy strains bequeathed not only the physical qualities, but quick, shrewd mentality and tenacity of purpose. David R. Francis was born in Richmond, Kentucky, October 1, 1850, the son of John Broaddus Francis and Eliza Caldwell (Rowland) Francis. His descent is from an ancestry honorable and distinguished. The earliest representatives of the Francis family in Kentucky were pioneers of that state and Thomas Francis, grandfather of David R. Francis, was a Kentucky soldier in the war of 1812. On the distaff side David R. Francis is descended from David Irvine, of Lynchburg, Virginia, whose ten daughters were numbered among the distinguished pioneer women of Kentucky. The line of descent can be traced back to the days of Robert Bruce and the pages of the family history teem with many glorious deeds and brilliant achievements in connection with the annals of Scotland. In the time of Bruce, William de Irvine was awarded a part of the royal forest of Drum in consideration of his valuable services to the crown. Captain Christopher Irvine commanded King James' Light Horse at the battle of Flodden, and Alexander Irvine closed the gates of Londonderry in the face of another King James and his army, in which connection the *Edinburgh Review* has said: "This action entitled him to be called one of the greatest heroes the world has ever seen." The Irvine family

was established in America during the early colonization of Virginia and many representatives of the name on this side of the Atlantic have gained distinction, including General William Irvine, a gallant officer of the Revolution; William and Christopher Irvine, and Christopher, son of William, who were pioneers of Kentucky and left their impress upon the development of that state.

Mayor of his city, governor of his State, a member of the Cabinet, president of the great World's Fair, and now for three years Ambassador to Russia,—yet the earliest ambition of David R. Francis was to drive four horses to a stage-coach on a Kentucky pike. It was in Civil war times that David R. Francis walked out the pike every afternoon from Richmond to meet the stage coming over from Lexington. That stage brought the Lexington and Louisville papers, which were in great demand, for war news. The boy was earning his first money selling those papers, and to expedite his work, as well as to enjoy the ride into town, he went out to meet the coach. The driver of the coach was Raleigh Hazelwood. He had said to the boy, at the beginning of their partnership:

"I want you to sell these papers, and I'll give you a commission."

"Of course, I'll sell 'em, Mr. Hazelwood," the boy had interrupted, without waiting for further details of the bargain.

"I'll give you a cent apiece for selling them," the driver continued.

"I don't want any commission or pay for selling them," the boy said. "If you'll just let me drive these four horses into Richmond every day, I'll sell all the papers you bring."

But the stage driver took no advantage of "Davie's" enthusiasm; he stood by his first proposition. As the earnings grew the boy put the money in the Richmond bank. When, in 1866, he started for St. Louis to complete his education, he had saved $60, in gold. He traded for greenbacks at sixty per cent premium, and with $96 capital he entered Washington University. The full four years' course was completed in 1870. As he faced the world that year David R. Francis

had a balance sheet which showed a credit of one college diploma and a debit of $450 borrowed to complete the education. He thought he wanted to be a lawyer. An opportunity knocked as the young man wondered how he could finance that professional ambition. It was the offer of a place as shipping clerk at $60 a month in a grain commission house. Mr. Francis took it. He tramped the St. Louis levee and railroad yards; he went on 'Change; he wrote the weekly trade letter that was sent out to inform the customers of the house; he devoted himself to the grain commission business so zealously that his salary was advanced to $75 a month. All of this time he was bringing down town mornings a little paper parcel containing his lunch. At the end of every month there was a payment on the college debt. One day the tall, deep-chested Kentuckian turned dizzy and had to lean against the wall. He went to a doctor, who looked him over, listened to the heart action and said:

"Stop bringing that cold lunch. Get something hot at noon if you don't want to be sick."

Forty years later, when the preparations for the World's fair were driving, the members of the executive committee came into their room for the daily afternoon session and found Mr. Francis lunching on a cold sandwich. He had lingered too long over business with one of the directors of divisions and had missed his luncheon hour. Members of the commistee chided him for neglect of himself. Mr. Francis looked thoughtful.

"I suppose you are right," he said. "Cold lunches made me sick once. I thought I would save money to pay my college debt by carrying my lunch to work. Jim, I expect you remember when we used to carry our lunches, don't you?"

"Yes," said James Campbell, the man who left his millions to endow a great medical department in St. Louis University, "I remember."

"Well," continued Mr. Francis, "one day I became dizzy and fell against a wall. The doctor told me to stop carrying cold lunch. The committee will come to order. What is the first business today?"

Diverted by circumstances from the profession he was inclined to take, Mr. Francis was able to find satisfaction in the grain business. It has been characteristic of him to not only be most thorough in all he has undertaken but to get the philosophic point of view. Not long before his departure for Russia he spoke of the interest he had taken in his first vocation:

"I have always followed attentively all conditions that affect the grain trade of this country and of the world. The farmers may plant and the railroads may water, but the increase cannot come without the agency of the merchant who is the connecting link between the producer and the consumer. Before the great transportation systems were established, before railroads carried freight, before the potentialities of steam were applied on land or on sea, the grain dealer was performing his very important function in promoting the commerce of the world. Today he is no less a factor in the great commercial system because the packhorse and ox team have been supplanted by the locomotive and the dynamo. He still stands ready to buy from the producer and is willing to deliver to the consumer when the demand requires. Who can say that the merchant does not add to the value of the raw product and at the same time diminish the cost of necessities? He has been at all times abreast of the increase of production and of the growth of transportation."

At the end of his first year as shipping clerk, Mr. Francis paid off the college debt. He had learned the grain business and had adopted his vocation. Moreover he had acquired the habit of thrift. With his next savings he bought a few shares of bank stock and never sold them. Seven years he worked on a salary, and then went into the commission business on his own account. Such was the impression he made on his associates in trade that at the age of thirty-three he was elected president of the Merchants' Exchange, the youngest man to have filled that exalted position. One day he was on 'Change attending to business when he heard a shout and his name

called. "What's that?" he asked. "You've been nominated for mayor," came the reply with a hurrah. And thus, without his seeking, entrance into official political life came.

The previous summer of 1884 he had been one of the delegates-at-large from Missouri to the Chicago convention which nominated Grover Cleveland for his first term. The selection of Mr. Francis for this position came about as a surprise to him. The state convention had been called to meet in St. Louis for the purpose of electing delegates to the national convention. Mr. Francis, representing the Merchants' Exchange, suggested to his associates that the Exchange appoint a committee, escort the delegates about the city and show them such courtesies as were proper. This action made such an impression upon the delegates that, although Mr. Francis was not an avowed candidate, they elected him at the convention the following day over the St. Louis candidate. Mr. Francis received the second highest vote in the convention. The other delegates at large were John O'Day, Governor Chas. H. Hardin and Charles H. Mansur.

Mr. Francis was elected mayor of St. Louis by a plurality of one thousand two hundred. Four years previously the city had elected a republican to the mayoralty by fourteen thousand. A business administration in the most comprehensive sense of the term describes the period of nearly four years during which Mr. Francis was at the head of the city government.

A former mayor of St. Louis, of the opposite political party, Cyrus P. Walbridge, told at the farewell banquet just before the departure of Ambassador Francis for Russia, some of the constructive achievements for the city. He said it was the result of Mayor Francis' work that St. Louis became at the time the best paved city in the United States. Mayor Francis, Mr. Walbridge went on to enumerate, reduced the interest on the municipal debt from six to four per cent, and even to 3.65 per cent on part of the bonds. Mayor Francis acquired for $1,000,000 the site for the new waterworks at Chain of Rocks, thereby giving St. Louis the present ideal

system of water supply. Mayor Francis caused the reduction of the price of gas from $2.50 to $1.25 per 1,000 cubic feet. Mayor Francis collcted $1,000,000 due the city from the Missouri Pacific railroad.

"But," concluded Mr. Walbridge, "he is not to be judged by what he did in that office, but by what the office did in him. It prepared him for the big things which he has since done."

A mayor who had made the record that Mr. Francis had in the principal city of the state naturally came into prominence when the democratic party began to consider the selection of a candidate for governor in 1888. Mr. Francis was named by his party not as a result of machine politics, but upon the impression he had made throughout the state as a municipal executive. He was successful at an election which went against his party in the nation. On the 14th of January, 1889, he entered upon a four years' administration of state affairs, which was characterized by direct and practical benefits to the commonwealth, brought about by the same well directed energy which had made his services as mayor so important to St. Louis.

When David R. Francis went to Jefferson City to be inaugurated governor the state capital was unfamiliar to him. On one occasion he had gone there while he was mayor, seeking legislation to put wires under ground. Possibly he had made two or three flying visits on other errands. An invitation asking Missouri to participate in the centennial, at New York, of the inauguration of the first president of the United States was one of the pressing matters brought early to the attention of the new governor. The retiring executive, Mr. Morehouse, had appointed ex-Senator David R. Armstrong chairman of a committee to represent Missouri. The time of the celebration was April, 1889. No other definite preparation had been made for Missouri's participation. When he began to inquire about this invitation, Governor Francis learned that other states were intending to send battalions or regiments of their National Guard to the celebration. He announced that

Missouri would be similarly represented and issued orders for the National Guard to prepare for the trip. The legislature failed to make an appropriation. Nevertheless, the troops assembled, trains were provided, and Governor Francis appeared with his staff. Just before the trains left the Union Station at St. Louis the prudent railroad agent, with the information of the legislature's non-action in mind, appeared aboard the train, sought the governor and said he must have his money before starting, which goes to show that the young governor was not so well known in 1889 as he became later. A personal check for the amount, about fourteen thousand dollars, was written by the governor and the expedition moved. Missouri was creditably represented in the New York celebration. And the fact was one of the rifts in the ugly cloud which had been hanging over "the train robber state." The rest of the country began to see Missouri in a different light as the business administration progressed. A bill to reimburse the governor for his expenditure was presented in the legislature and voted down. When Governor Francis was informed he did not fume. He said the measure would probably come up at every recurring session for the next twenty years until thew isdom of his action was vindicated. Over night was enough to bring better second thought to the legislators. The next day the vote refusing reimbursement was reconsidered and the bill passed.

Dignities and honors of office have never dulled the energy or repressed the activities of David R. Francis. Within three months after Mr. Francis became governor he had established such personal relations with the lawmakers as enabled him to make his administration effective. He gave a series of receptions in the mansion. He dined the senators and representatives, twenty at a time. When he went to lunch he was accompanied by chairmen or whole committees to talk over pending legislation. With the needs before their eyes the legislators passed appropriations to refurnish the mansion and to make it worthy of the state. To the credit of the Francis administration was placed the first appropriation for the National Guard since the Civil war. On the recommen-

dations and personal arguments of the Governor, the first Australian ballot law, the school book commission and uniform text-book law, the reduction of the tax rate, the appointment of a geological survey commission and a long list of what may be properly termed constructive laws of the state, the value of which the years have shown, were placed upon the books.

In his administration as governor came the opportunity to Mr. Francis to do what, next to his World's Fair contribution, may be reckoned his greatest benefit to the greatest number. For several sessions antagonism on the part of legislators toward the State University had been growing. The federal government paid to the state $600,000, being the long delayed refund of the direct tax. Many bills to dispose of the money were introduced. Economists wished to buy and cancel state bonds. Governor Francis sent in a message urging the needs of the University and asking that the money be given as endowment. He pointed out that the condition of the university at that time was not in keeping with the dignity of the State. The recommendation gained headway slowly. The first bill to give the money to the University carried with it the provision that it should not be available until changes were made in the personnel of the university management. Employing all of his powers of persuasion to carry the appropriation, Governor Francis started legislation which reorganized the management. He sent in a measure which created a bi-partisan board of nine curators, only five of whom could be of one party and only one of whom could be from a congressional district. This broke up party and clique control of the University. Another reform of Governor Francis provided that when the legislature made an appropriation for the University the money must remain in the state treasury until needed and drawn in proper form by voucher for actual expenditures. The old custom had been to transfer the appropriation as soon as available to some favored bank at Columbia or elsewhere. The management underwent prompt changes. At the instance of Governor

Francis, Dr. Jesse was secured for president of the University. The institution had entered upon a new era with encouraging prospects when in February, 1892, the main buildings burned. Immediately Governor Francis called a special meeting of the legislature. Taking the first train for Columbia he addressed the students advising them to remain and go on with their studies in temporary quarters and promised them rebuilding should begin at once. For years successive legislatures had been threatening to separate the agricultural college and move it from Columbia. Such was the hostility occasioned by previous unpopular management that there was grave danger the fire might cost Columbia either the University or the College of Agriculture. The special session was convened as quickly as the legal limit permitted. Governor Francis recommended an appropriation of $250,000 to rebuild and the measure was passed promptly. From that day the University of Missouri has forged ahead in strength and influence at a rate that has been the surprise of educators everywhere. For his policies and his acts as governor, David R. Francis is called "the second father of the University." He ranks with James S. Rollins as one of the two men who have done most for the institution.

For the ambassadorship to Russia Mr. Francis was equipped with forty-five years of experience widely varied in activities, and filled with more than ordinary achievement. His activities have been three-fold, along business, political and educational lines. Governor Francis urged and the legislature passed an appropriation of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for Missouri's participation in the World's Fair at Chicago in 1893. In the dedication of 1892, Missouri was represented by Governor Francis and his staff and six hundred of the National Guard.

When the Columbian Exposition opened Governor Francis was no longer in office. Taking his family to Chicago in the late summer of 1893 he rented a house and remained for some weeks giving his time to the study of the exposition. When Chicago was chosen by Congress as the location for the World's

Fair, Governor Francis presented the claims of St. Louis, remarking when the vote went against his city that a decade would bring another centennial anniversary—the Louisiana Purchase.

During the second term of President Cleveland, from 1893 to 1897, Mr. Francis, who had been one of the most pronounced advocates for renomination at Chicago in 1892, held relations perhaps closer than any other Missourian with the administration. He was consulted by President Cleveland upon appointments and politics which concerned this state. In the summer of 1896, Mr. Francis was asked to take the Secretaryship of the Interior. His term of office was not quite one year, but in that time he added millions of acres to the forest reserves and instituted reforms in the service which were ratified and continued in the McKinley administration.

About the time Mr. Francis retired from the Secretaryship of the Interior, he delivered an address before the Business Men's League of St. Louis, in which he spoke of the coming centennial of the Louisiana Purchase and advised that the time was none too long to prepare for a fitting celebration. In June, 1898, he was appointed on a committee of fifteen "to select a Louisiana Purchase Centennial committee of fifty to arrange for a celebration in 1903." He thought over the matter, decided to give, if necessary, three or four years of his life to this celebration, and entered upon the movement with all of his acquired experience and all of his capacity for effort and accomplishment.

The man of the World's Fair hour could not be characterized in fine words or elegant phrases. His personality and his acts made the impression which did him justice. In the early summer of 1901, Mr. Francis sat with the World's Fair directors in a meeting of the House of Delegates of St. Louis, called to consider the merits of a proposed ordinance, essential to the success of the enterprise. He spoke earnestly and persuasively of the Exposition as a great public enterprise, entitled to consideration from the municipality. He introduced others. In the midst of the hearing a pale-faced man came down the aisle and whispered to him:

"Northern Pacific has gone to $1,000 a share!"

"We haven't any," replied Mr. Francis in an undertone. "What of it?"

"Everything else is down fifteen to twenty-five points. There's a panic on Wall street. We've been called for $450,000," the bearer of news went on from bad to worse.

"Go back and get the money together. I'll be down town in a couple of hours." And so, dismissing his private affairs, Mr. Francis arose and introduced another friend of the World's Fair to urge upon the delegates prompt performance of duty. It was characteristic of his perfect self-command.

A radical departure in the theory of exposition organization was made at St. Louis. No director-general was appointed. The president of the board of directors was made the administrative and executive head. Four grand executive divisions were organized to report to the president. They were Exhibits, Works, Exploitation, and Concessions and Admissions. The title of the head of each division was director. These four co-ordinate officers, chief lieutenants to the President, were: Director of Exhibits; Director of Works; Director of Exploitation; Director of Concessions and Admission.

This innovation in exposition practice was adopted after deliberation extending through several months. Doubt as to the practical operation of the plan was expressed by some persons with exposition experience. It proved to be not well founded. An unusual condition existed. The president of the board of directors had been with this exposition movement from its inception. He was the master spirit in all preliminary stages. His council prevailed in the convention of delegates from the Louisiana Purchase States and Territories. He headed the executive committee which survived that convention, entrusted with its recommendations. He became chairman of the executive committee of the Committee of Two Hundred which constituted the preliminary local organization. Withdrawing gradually from his own business affairs, he permitted the interests of the exposition movement

to engross his mind and his time. Leading the delegates selected to visit the National Capital he came to be recognized, abroad and at home, as the head of the movement. When national, state and city aid had been pledged and the time arrived to incorporate and organize the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, he alone was considered for the presidency of the board of directors. Committed in his own mind, responsible in the opinion of the public, the president of the board of directors dedicated himself to the success of the Exposition.

Not the least interesting or significant of the motives which prompted David R. Francis to give so generously his energies and time to the World's Fair is embodied in this expression regarding the influence such a movement would have upon the people of St. Louis. "St. Louis has needed something like this," reasoned Mr. Francis. "We are a peculiarly self-centered people. We own our own city. We have always stood ready to furnish capital to others. We are strong and prosperous financially. But we are perhaps too independent. We need to be brought more closely into contact with the outside world. We need to have a certain narrowness of vision altered. We need to learn something of our own merits and possibilities, so that many of our own people will realize a little better than they do that St. Louis is, in its own way, as great a city as any on the continent."

"Every exposition is a great peace congress," said Mr. Francis, on another occasion, in further explanation of his intense interest in the World's Fair. "Each is another step forward in the progress of man. It is a source of growing education to the human race, and brings the civilized races closer together."

President Francis gave the years of service to the World's Fair without one dollar of compensation. To the committee of directors appointed to confer with him on the matter of salary, he said: "I cannot serve for a commercial reward, but the best in me will be given cheerfully to promote the success of the enterprise fraught with such consequence to St. Louis and the country."

The centennial of the incorporation of St. Louis as a town was celebrated in 1909. Mr. Francis, the public spirit which carried him to the forefront so often, headed the reception committee. Mayors from one hundred of the principal cities of the United States and Canada attended that week long celebration. Mr. Francis and his committee took them in charge and accompanied them on a tour of the commercial district. An incident illustrates the "hail-fellow-well-met" characteristic. When the party reached the vicinity of the Merchants' Exchange, Chairman Francis' old time recollections of his grain commission days were recalled and he led the mayors on 'Change.

Peanut peddlers with their carts were numerous in St. Louis in those days, and as the group of Mayors neared the Exchange building, Chairman Francis halted them beside a peanut vendor's cart. He bought the entire stock of the peanut man, and as he began to pitch the paper sacks of peanuts to the mayors in the crowd he instructed the peanut man to hunt up all near-by vendors and tell them to hurry there to replenish the rapidly failing stock of peanuts.

Before Chairman Francis had cleaned up the peanut stock, vendors with carts of peanuts began to hurry from all directions, it seemed, and soon the chairman had more peanuts in sight than the mayors could devour. He purchased the entire stocks and gave them to the group, and then led the delegation on 'Change munching peanuts.

While the mayoralty group stood on the exchange floor watching the bulls and bears at work somebody challenged Chairman Francis to show a touch of his old-time vigor by making a purchase in "the pit."

The chairman jumped into "the pit" and pushed through the apparently frantic crowd of buyers, who were making motions with their hands and fingers unintelligible to the outsiders. He soon began to shout as loudly as the others in "the pit," made the same signs with his hands and was heard to shout "10,000." Another man nodded his head—and Chairman Francis had bought 10,000 bushels of wheat for the edification of 100 mayors.

"I should like to have the privilege of expressing my very great confidence in the Ambassador and my pleasure that he has been able to undertake the important mission upon which I have had the honor of sending him," President Wilson wrote to James E. Smith, representing the Business Men's League and the Merchants' Exchange, the two great organizations of business and professional men of St. Louis which united in the farewell to Mr. Francis, March 23, 1916.

A full year, and more, preceding the entrance of the United States into the world war, Mr. Francis accepted the ambassadorship and started for Petrograd. At that time the great majority of the citizens of this country believed that the United States would be able to preserve its neutrality. The administration was shaping its policies to that end and holding out the hope that the nation would be "kept out of war." With a prescience which seems the more notable when the conditions of that time, March, 1916, are recalled, Mr. Francis, at the farewell given him in St. Louis, spoke in bold and no uncertain words the warning which came from his convictions. He urged "preparedness." He met unflinching the sadly mistaken position assumed by pacifists. He pointed out that the changed methods of warfare made it impossible for this country to respond quickly if the danger he felt might be impending should actually come. He said impressively:

"The present struggle in which so many civilized countries are engaged, whose horrors appall humanity and stupefy civilization, is deplorable beyond expression. No man can with accuracy prophesy when it will end. Whatever its development may be, however long it may be protracted, it has continued far enough to demonstrate that, after its termination, the relations of the countries engaged therein will be different from what they were when it began. Furthermore, the relations of all participating countries at the termination of this war will be different with our country from what they were before the war was declared.

"The influence which this country can and will exercise in establishing the relations of the new regime by participating in peaceful negotiations, when the time therefor rolls around, will be potential, but that influence will be greatly impaired, if, through any unforeseen conditions, or through any mistakes committed, we may become participants in the conflict. God grant these con-

ditions may not arise. Let us pray no such mistakes may be made.

"There are many lessons, however, which this country can learn from the occurrences of the past eighteen months. We have been lulled into a feeling of security from foreign attacks by the consciousness of our own power, and by the great distance that separates us from all countries which would be formidable foes.

"I do not share the belief cherished by some that preparedness on the part of a great nation is more likely to involve it in war than if it were not prepared. The instinctive love of peace which pervades this republic, the conservative sentiment which characterizes our citizens, are ample safeguards against intemperate action. If the equipment of armies were the same as they were during our War of the Revolution, or even the same as they were during our Civil War, there would be no necessity for preparedness; the intelligence and the courage of our people and their love of our institutions would prompt and enable them to organize and mobilize opportunely for any emergency.

"The implements of modern warfare, however, and the use made thereof have established beyond controversy that the country which is not properly and securely equipped is at a great disadvantage, if not in continued jeopardy.

"I am fully aware that this occasion was not designated to promote preparedness. At the same time, you must admit that a representative of our government at a foreign capital can champion his country's cause more effectually and with vastly more confidence if he knows that country is equipped to perform her part in any emergency."

After a career so full of activities and attendant honors, what prompted David R. Francis to accept a charge by which, as he said, "the very hinges of my heart are sorely tried?" The answer is in his own words given at the farewell:

"I have lived three-score and five years, and sometimes ask myself the question propounded to me by many whom I have met, that is, why at my age, after rounding out half a century of activity, should I assume an onerous responsibility in an untried field, why take upon myself the stupendous task of such proportions as to tax the ability, if not to appall a diplomat of experience and distinguished service.

"The reply made to myself is that I consider this call one of duty, to which it would be recreant not to respond. To the many comforting remarks made to me to the effect that the opportunity

is great and should not be permitted to pass by, my response has been and is that I hope I may be equal to rise to it.

"The foreign relations of the United States have not during my recollection, if ever, been as important and critical as they are today. As the only first-class nation on the earth not engaged in hostile warfare, it behooves us to preserve our friendly relations with all countries, and to preserve, if it can be done with honor, that peace which is the hope and desire of every right-thinking citizen of America. This should also be the desire of every lover of humanity wherever he may reside or whatever his occupation.

"If my government, in its wisdom, calls me to an important post, which it thinks I am competent to fill on account of my years or my experience in domestic government, or in national or international commerce, I would be a poor citizen indeed if I permitted personal interests, or friendly associations, or love of ease, or even ties of consanguinity, to interfere or to prevent a favorable response on my part.

"Fear of jeopardizing whatever of reputation I may have gained in public affairs or in commerce is not one of my guides of action. If it were, I should be a coward, and unworthy of the respect of my fellows.

"To say that I am confident of being able to discharge successfully or creditably the delicate duties of the position I have accepted would be presuming indeed, but to affirm that I approach such duties with sincerity of motive, and imbued with an honest desire to serve my country and to promote the welfare of humanity, is but expressing the sentiments of one whose love of his fellows increases as the shadows lengthen."

It is quite well known that another diplomatic mission had been declined by Mr. Francis before the Russian appointment was accepted. The Ambassador's thorough understanding and appreciation of the long existing friendship and close relationship between Russia and the United States had much to do with his acceptance of the post. In speaking of this he said:

"In 1832 the commercial treaty was entered into between Russia and the United States, and continued in force, after being amended in 1868, until it was abrogated by this country in 1912. There is no commercial treaty between the two countries at this time. Notwithstanding this, however, their trade relations have been friendly and the commerce between the countries has been increased by leaps and bounds. Russia's friendship for the United

States has been manifest on more than one occasion, and at times most opportune.

"Next to the Louisiana Purchase, the most important acquisition of territory made by the United States was its purchase from Russia of the Territory of Alaska, which every year yields, through its mines, forests and fisheries and productive soil, many times the price paid for it.

"During the Civil war, when the life of Republican institutions hung in the balance, when the preservation of the Union was threatened by the open friendliness of England to the Southern Confederacy, whose independence Great Britian was on the eve of recognizing, Russia—absolute monarchy although she was—was outspoken and unswerving in her fidelity to the Union's cause.

"In 1893, when the credit of our Government was shaken to its foundations and when national bankruptcy seemed impending, and when the country was afflicted by the severest commercial panic it has ever experienced, Russia tendered to the Government at Washington its financial assistance. But to go farther might be transgressing the rules of diplomacy."

It is a persuasive personality, not a dominating personality, that enters into whatever David R. Francis undertakes. It is with him, "Come," not "Follow." The influence of such a personality can be traced through all of his mature life. It went with him into diplomatic career in most effective ways. Repeatedly during the reign of anarchy in Petrograd, the American embassy was the asylum of the terrified. Diplomats of other countries found refuge there. The Ambassador turned none away, but even gave up his own quarters and camped out where he could find unoccupied space. He stood firmly upon American rights and his guests were not disturbed. When it became evident that nationals were in danger of their lives, the Ambassador assembled the Americans, placed them on a special train and had them convoyed by officials of the embassy all of the long journey across Russia and Siberia to safety on the Pacific coast.

With the rise of the Bolsheviks Ambassador Francis found himself in a diplomatic position the most difficult and most dangerous in the world. The rapid changes of government following the fall of the Czar called for the exercise of extra-

ordinary judgment and tact. Through the Ambassador's efforts, the United States became the first government to recognize Russia under the first revolutionary regime. This made the relations with Kerensky and other leaders very friendly. Those leaders sought the American embassy for advice and sympathy. But when the Kerensky government was overthrown by the Bolsheviks, and the relations with Germany were made apparent, the Ambassador found himself confronted by officials who set at defiance all diplomatic usages and rights. His reports were not allowed to go through to Washington. He received, only at long intervals, messages from the Department of State. Then came rumors of personal dangers. Subsequently these were confirmed.

In April, 1917, a hostile demonstration against the American embassy occurred. Lenine, the Bolshevik leader, had arrived in Russia, coming through Germany from Switzerland, having a safe conduct pass from the German government. A mob assembled for the purpose of showing unfriendliness toward the United States. Lenine headed it. Singing, cheering and shouting threats against the United States, the mob started for the American embassy. Ambassador Francis was having a dinner with British guests. The police brought word that the mob was on the way, carrying a red flag; that it had been recruited and inflamed by the speeches of German agents who declared the United States was the enemy of socialism. The Ambassador, pistol in hand, took his place at the door of the embassy; his private secretary, Earl Johnston, also armed, stood beside him. The squad of police gathered in front of the embassy instructed by their commander to "shoot to kill" if the rioters attacked. Advance scouts of the mob carried back the information of the preparedness. The mob halted before reaching the embassy and dispersed. This all occurred while Petrograd was in a chaotic condition and before the Bolsheviks had entirely ousted the Kerensky or constitutional assembly government.

Later came situations even more dangerous. Not long after Lenine and Trotsky had established themselves in power, soap box orators began to make inflaming speeches

against the United States. They charged that the American government was about to "execute Comrade Muni." They said it was judicial murder, that Muni's only offense in the United States was that he was an Italian socialist. They aroused the radical elements. It was sometime before the Ambassador and other Americans in Petrograd came to understand that "Comrade Muni, Italian Socialist," was Thomas J. Mooney held in San Francisco on the charge of complicity in the throwing of a bomb during the preparedness parade in that city.

Aroused by the talk of the street corner agitators, another mob was formed. Carrying red flags these radical socialists marched toward the American embassy, shouting they were going to "clean it out." Russian officials of anti-Bolshevik sympathies, telephoned Ambassador Francis that he was in danger, urged him to leave the embassy and secrete himself until the mob cooled down.

The Ambassador refused to leave the embassy. He sent his body servant, "Phil," for his pistol, stepped out of the door and met the mob. "Stop! What is the matter," he demanded.

"Your government is about to execute our Comrade Muni, and we have come to clean out the embassy," was the leader's sullen answer in Russian.

The Ambassador said he knew nothing about any such case. The leader then ordered the Ambassador to get out of the way and declared that the mob had come to destroy the contents of the embassy and would do so.

"Stop!" ordered the Ambassador. "This is not Russia. It is American territory. You can't put yout foot in here."

But the mob crowded forward until the Ambassador declared: "This is American territory. I will kill the first man that crosses the threshold."

As the mob wavered, the Ambassador followed up his advantage, saying: "Now, get out! Get out!" At the same time he showed his weapon. The mob melted away.

The circumstantial accounts of these lawless movements against the embassy did not come from the Ambassador or

any one connected with the Embassy, but were given by Americans who were in Petrograd and preparing to get out of the country. They impressed the Department of State to such a degree that authority to leave Russia whenever he deemed it advisable was sent to the Ambassador.

Communication between the Department of State at Washington and the American Ambassador in Russia was suspended for periods of weeks. The Ambassador received nothing. He did not know whether his reports were reaching the United States. At last he resorted to a method which illustrated his fertility of resource. C. T. Williams, a Red Cross representative in Rumania, got through to Petrograd. He was on his way to try to reach the United States. Ambassador Francis prepared copies of his reports covering a period in which he had been without communication with Washington. These reports were locked in a small pouch and the pouch was chained to the wrist of Williams. All Russia was in chaos. Trains were being stopped frequently by armed bands. But day and night that pouch was carried, thus fastened to the Red Cross man. In the party with Williams were thirty Red Cross doctors and nurses. The party and the pouch reached Washington. The contents of the pouch gave the administration the first important reports on conditions in Russia which had been received for weeks.

Vologda was the city chosen by the Ambassador for the diplomatic capital when the Germans had approached so near Petrograd as to make it unsafe for diplomatic representatives of the Allied countries to stay there any longer. Some of the diplomats left Russia and started, by way of Sweden, for their respective countries. Others accompanied the American Ambassador, who had become dean of the diplomatic corps. Vologda is a city dating back its beginning 350 years before Columbus discovered America. It is famed for its industry of lace making. When the two special trains, se-

cured by the Ambassador for the diplomatic staffs, reached Vologda, the mayor of the city called on the Ambassador. Then came the president of the city duma, the president of the local soviet and the representative of the central soviet. The soviet was the Bolshevik government with which the Ambassador had never had any official relations because the United States had never recognized it as a government of Russia. These local officials were very courteous and accommodating. They offered the Ambassador the use of a club house, a commodious and an imposing structure for a city of 65,000—Vologda's population. The Ambassador accepted the offer and moved the chancellerie from the railroad car to the club house. He inaugurated the custom of a Saturday afternoon tea. He invited these officials of the city and of the soviet, together with the station master and the diplomats of the various countries, who had accompanied him to Vologda. Most of them attended these weekly functions. While this was in no sense a recognition of the Bolshevik government it established a personal relationship which not only insured the safety of the representatives of the allied countries but helped materially to counteract German influence. It was a course strikingly characteristic of David R. Francis.

Before he selected Vologda as the diplomatic capital he refused the request of the soviet government that the American embassy be removed to Moscow. Archangel was the first place suggested to the mind of the Ambassador. The Russian foreign minister opposed this, saying that Archangel would not be a safe place for the allied diplomats.

"Do you expect the German siege of Archangel?" asked the Ambassador. "Certainly you do not anticipate an allied siege of that city."

This inquiry uncovered the unfriendly attitude of the Bolsheviks in their relation to the Allies, at the same time that this foreign minister was professing friendliness toward the American embassy. It was about this time that Ambassa-

dor Francis wrote an official letter to the foreign minister, standing firmly upon his American rights and defying the Bolsheviks. This letter is a revelation of the treatment accorded the allied diplomats by the revolutionists:

"Your message expressing friendly feelings for the people I represent and the desire on your part to maintain relations with them is appreciated, but you will permit me to say that your treatment of me as their representative does not accord with such expressions.

"While I have refrained from interfering in the internal affairs of Russia, I have considered the Russian people were still our allies and have more than once appealed to them to unite with us in resisting the common enemy.

"I have furthermore recommended to my government many times to send food to relieve the sufferings of the Russian people and to ship agricultural implements.

"A wireless sent from Washington on July 10 and received at Moscow was delivered to me after last midnight, July 24. It stated that no message had been received from me of later date than June 24 except one sent through Archangel on July 7, advising of the killing of the German Ambassador.

"It furthermore stated the department had cabled me often and fully. I have received no cable from my Government that was sent after July 3 except two wireless messages inquiring why they did not hear from me. I had cabled fully every day.

"Moreover the press of Vologda, and doubtless the entire press of Russia, has received an order to print nothing from any Allied Ambassador or representative without submitting the same to the soviet government. Some journals in Vologda and some in St. Petersburg did print your first telegram inviting and ordering the diplomatic corps to come to Moscow and our reply thereto; these were given to the press by myself and for the information of the Russian people and because I thought secret diplomacy had been abolished in Russia.

"Upon hearing that the press was forbidden to publish further correspondence concerning our removal to Moscow the diplomatic corps decided to have printed in pamphlet form in Russian the entire correspondence on the subject, together with some excerpts from the stenographic report of an interview between your Representative Radek and myself."

The Ambassador wrote to Foreign Minister Tchitcherin that in refusing to go to Moscow he was acting in harmony with all of the allied diplomats. At that time Mr. Francis

had become dean of the corps and was looked upon as the spokesman:

"Your telegram states that Archangel is not a fit residence for Ambassadors in the event of a 'siege.' Do you expect a German siege of Archangel? Certainly you do not anticipate an Allied siege of that city.

"I can only repeat what I have said to you and to the Russian people many times, and that is, the Allies have nothing to fear from the Russian people, with whom they consider themselves still in alliance against the common enemy.

"Speaking for myself, I have no desire or intention of leaving Russia unless forced to do so, and in such event my absence would be but temporary. I would not properly represent my Government or the sentiment of the American people if I should leave Russia at this time.

"The Allies have never recognized the Brest-Litovsk peace, and it is becoming so burdensome to the Russian people that in my judgment the time is not far distant when they will turn upon Germany, and the repulsion of the enemy from the Russian borders will demonstrate what I have continuously believed, and that is that the national spirit of Russia is not dead, but has only been sleeping."

When it began to dawn upon the Russian people that they had been mistreated by Germany in the Brest-Litovsk treaty, the Ambassador gave out a declaration that neither the American government, nor the American people recognized that treaty. He said:

"We still, regardless of the humiliating treaty which the Germans have forced on the soviet government, consider ourselves allies of the Russian people and are ready to support in every manner possible any power which will sincerely organize to fight Germany."

And when the "Sovereign Government of Northern Russia" was set up, with Tchaykovsky at the head of it, to oppose German influence, the Ambassador gave every encouragement to it. He discovered that Tchaykovsky had lived in the United States from 1875 to 1879, and had American ideas of republican forms of government. But the Ambassador, who is a Presbyterian, could not accept Tchay-

kovsky's theology. This Russian patriot told the Ambassador of his life in Independence, Kansas, where he endeavored to found a new religious sect. Briefly stated, he tried to teach "God is in every soul and that is the sole existence of what the religious denominations call the Supreme Being." There was no difference of opinion between the Ambassador and Tchaykovsky when the latter said, "The race has not arrived at that state of development where it can appreciate such belief." Tchaykovsky has given up the effort to establish his religion.

The Ambassador was one of the first to discern the signs of better days for Russia. Shortly before he was compelled to leave for health reasons he wrote:

"The Russian people have been in a dream and are now beginning to awaken. I have never despaired of their ability to organize a government on proper lines if guided and assisted by us. And I am hoping to be spared in order to do my bit toward that end."

Stronger testimony to the importance of the service Ambassador Francis was giving could not have been contributed than the reply of the Administration at Washington when Governor Gardner telegraphed his purpose to offer to the Ambassador the United States Senatorship made vacant by the death of Senator Stone, if he could be spared from the diplomatic duty. The reply was that it was considered so necessary for the Ambassador to continue in Russia, it was impossible to consent to the plan of Governor Gardner.

Ambassador Francis, returning to the United States in February, convalescent from his hospital experience, and direct from the Paris conference, summed up his conclusions on the situation in Russia in these few words:

"The Soviet government is a disgrace to civilization and has inflicted irreparable damage on Russia. I still have confidence in the patriotism and good sense of the Russian people. I believe that, after they have given Bolshevism a few weeks or months longer, they will rise and wipe it out. Bolshevism is propagandizing

all over the world. If it dominates Russia, it will result in Germany exploiting Russia, utilizing its vast resources and organizing its man power; and in a decade, perhaps even less, Germany will be stronger than at the beginning of this war. Germany has been studying Russia's character and resources for thirty or forty years. If the war had been postponed five years, Germany would have had a secure foothold in Russia and it could not have been dislodged.

"One principle of the Soviet government is that it will permit no man to vote who employs another man. Two or three of the provinces have issued decrees nationalizing women between the ages of eighteen and thirty-two, but the Central government has issued no such order. It does, however, provide that a married couple can divorce themselves by agreement, and that two single persons can unite in marriage simply by declaring their intention to a third person. Children born of such marriages are placed in foundling asylums. Bolshevism, as it breaks up the family and is opposed to all organized government, means a return to barbarism in any country where it dominates."

HISTORY OF THE STATE FLAG OF MISSOURI.

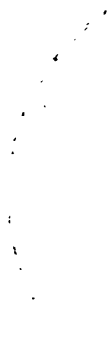
ROBERT BURETT OLIVER.

In October, 1908, the Daughters of the American Revolution, at their annual conference held in Columbia, discovered that Missouri had no state flag. Mrs. Robert Burett Oliver, of Cape Girardeau, Missouri, afterwards elected State Regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and Mrs. John R. Walker, of Kansas City, with some other ladies were appointed a committee to prepare a design for a state flag and if possible to secure the passage of a bill making it the official flag of the State.

Mrs. Oliver at once commenced the study of an appropriate and attractive design for such a flag. She wrote to the Secretary of every state and every territory in the Union for copies of the law of their respective states and territories relating to their several state flags. She received an answer from every state in the Union and found that a great majority had by legislative enactment adopted a state flag defining and prescribing its design. Some of these letters from the Secretaries of State were full of historical interest connected with the passage of the law adopting a state flag. All this investigation required time and labor, but after months of study and research Mrs. Oliver designed our present state flag. She called to her assistance, Miss Mary Kochtitzky, of Cape Girardeau, a local artist of much skill and taste, to assist her in the execution and painting of the design.

After the design had been fully executed a draft of the bill was prepared by Ex-Senator Robert Burett Oliver, the husband of the designer, and forwarded to his nephew Arthur L.

THE STATE FLAG OF MISSOURI



Oliver, then State Senator from Caruthersville, who introduced the bill in the State Senate on March 17, 1909.[1]

Prior to the introduction of the bill for the "Oliver flag" (as it was called in the Senate) Doctor G. H. Holcomb, a representative of Jackson County, had introduced a bill into the House of Representatives on February 4, 1909, which provided for a state flag with thirteen stripes and a rectangular blue field in the upper left hand corner with the Gothic letters "Mo." painted thereon and surrounded by twenty-four stars.[2]

Mrs. Oliver felt that the "Holcomb flag" was not representative of Missouri; that its stripes might be confused at a distance for the National flag, and that there was nothing in the design that *distinctively* represented Missouri except the abbreviation of the state's name on the blue field; while the design she had prepared embraced all the colors of the national flag—red, white and blue—and therefore recognized the State of Missouri as a part and parcel of the National Government—the greatest on all the earth. At the same time her design represented the state as possessing a local government, independent in some respects of the National Government but in perfect harmony with it as shown by the mingling of the colors, red, white and blue on each side of the coat of arms of the state.

Then Senator Arthur L. Oliver, now United States District Attorney for the Eastern Judicial District of Missouri, after having conferred with Mrs. Oliver, the designer, as to the meaning and interpretation of the design of the flag and what it stood for, in an interview with the newspapers at the time (1909) the bill was introduced into the Senate, said:

"The Constitution of the state provides that the emblems and devices of the Great Seal of the State as heretofore prescribed by law, shall not be subject to change. The coat-of-arms is a

[1]Introduced as Senate Bill No. 545, *45th Ass., Senate Journal, p. 557.*
[2]Introduced as House Bill No. 295, *45th Ass., House Journal, p. 105.*

part of the great seal of the state and unquestionably should be made a prominent feature of a state flag. The Doctor Holcomb design for a state flag introduced in the House is objectionable in that it does not contain the coat-of-arms, and because the general design is similar to the national flag. It is liable to cause a confusion in the field and elsewhere. There is nothing in the Holcomb design that indicates state sovereignty or the relation of the state to the Union, except the abbreviation of Missouri by the use of the letters 'Mo.'

"The design I offer embraces all the colors of the national flag—red, white and blue—which recognizes that the State of Missouri is a part and parcel of the Federal Government. At the same time it represents the state as possessing a local independence, a local self-government, but in perfect harmony with the great national compact, as shown by the mingling of the colors, red, white and blue, on every side of it.

"The coat-of-arms of the state is in the center of the national colors and represents Missouri as she is—the geographical center of the nation. The twenty-four (24) stars on the blue band encircling the coat-of-arms signifies that Missouri was the twenty-fourth state admitted into the Union of States. The blue in the flag signifies vigilance, permanency and justice; the red, valor; and the white, purity.

"The crescent on the shield, in heraldry, represents the second son, so our crescent on this shield denotes that Missouri was the second state (Louisiana being the first) formed of the territory of the great Louisiana Purchase. The helmet of the coat-of-arms indicates enterprise, and hardihood and signifies state sovereignty.

"The great grizzly bears are peculiarly appropriate to a state traversed by the Missouri River, and in our coat-of-arms and on this flag these bears signify the size of the state, the strength of the state and the courage of her people, and further, they represent protection to the state from invasion from every source.

"This design for a state flag represents that while we, as a state, are independent and support ourselves as a state, we are also in perfect harmony with and constitute an important part in the support and maintenance of the National Government. The motto shows that the will of the people is the supreme law of the state. This flag, therefore, stands for something."

Senator Arthur L. Oliver succeeded in securing the passage of the bill in the Senate on April 21, 1909, by a vote of

24 to 1[3], but the bill failed to pass the House of Representatives, being adversely reported upon by the House Committee on Federal Relations.[4] The "state flag" bill introduced in the House by Doctor Holcomb had also failed to pass the House two days before by a vote of 54 to 67.[5]

In 1911, the "Oliver flag bill" was again introduced in the Senate by Arthur L. Oliver, Senator from Pemiscot county, and the bill again met with the approval of that body by a vote of 23 to 2.[6] It was during the session of 1911 that the State Capitol was burned and in some way the original design of the flag, as painted by Miss Kochtitzky, was destroyed by fire. On learning this Mrs. Oliver again set to work and made a beautiful silk flag and called to her assistance Mrs. S. D. McFarland, now of Pasadena, California, who painted the Great Seal of the State thereon. This silk flag was expressed by Mrs. Oliver to Senator Arthur L. Oliver for the purpose of enabling the members of the General Assembly, and especially the members of the House, to see the beautiful effect of the design and blending of its colors. On account of the confusion and delay incident to the fire, the bill, however, failed to get into the House until it was so late in the session that its passage through that body was not then accomplished.[7]

Representative Holcomb introduced a "state flag" bill in the House on January 19, 1911. It passed the House on March 2nd, but failed to pass the Senate, being reported on unfavorably by the Senate Committee on Judiciary on March 18th.[8]

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[3] *45th Ass., Senate Journal, p. 1123.*

[4] *45th Ass., House Journal, p. 1711 (May 8).*

[5] *Ibid,* p. 1631f. (May 6).

[6] Introduced as Senate Bill No. 94 on Jan. 18, 1911. *46th Ass., Senate Journal, p. 47.* Passed Senate on March 6th. *Ibid, p. 578.*

[7] Senate Bill No. 94 was favorably reported on by the House Com. on Const. Amend. and Perm. Seat of Govt., March 10th. *46th Ass., House Journal, p. 941.* It was placed on the informal calendar on March 18th. *Ibid, p. 1364.*

[8] House Bill No. 346. *46th Ass., House Journal, pp. 106, 183, 336.* After the Capitol fire, it was reintroduced as House Bill No. 720 and so passed the House but failed in the Senate. *Ibid, pp. 350, 734; Senate Journal, p. 959.*

Later, the Daughters of the American Revolution of Missouri, at their Annual State Conference at Sedalia, formally ratified and approved the design of the flag set forth in the bill introduced by Senator Oliver. During the same year (1911) the Colonial Dames of Missouri, at their annual meeting in St. Louis, formally and cordially ratified and approved the design of the flag, and urged the General Assembly to adopt it by the enactment of a bill, making it the official flag of the state.

In 1913, the Honorable Charles C. Oliver, Representative from Cape Girardeau County to the General Assembly, now editor of the *Missouri Cash-Book*, of Jackson, Missouri, introduced the "Oliver flag bill" in the house on January 21st. It met with the almost unanimous approval of the members of the House, being adopted on March 7th, and was reported to the Senate, where for the *third time* it met the favorable action of that body. The Bill was approved by the Governor on March 22, 1913, since which date it has been the official flag of Missouri.[9]

The full meaning and interpretation of this flag was well stated by Mrs. Oliver in her letter transmitting the original design and the first draft of the bill to Senator Arthur L. Oliver in 1909, which interpretation and meaning was given to the public press by Senator Oliver at the time he introduced the bill, the first time, in the Senate. That interpretation is hereinabove set out. Its meaning must be gratifying to every true Missourian for it bespeaks patriotism to the state as well as patriotism to the National Government.

After the passage and approval of the bill making it the official flag of Missouri, Mrs. Oliver requested her nephew, the Honorable Charles C. Oliver, to return to her possession the silk flag she made for the use of Senator Oliver to exhibit to

[9]Introduced as House Bill No. 329. *47th Ass., House Journal, p. 105.* Passed House by vote of 94 to 12 on March 7th. *Ibid, pp. 963f.* Passed by Senate by vote of 26 to 0 on March 18th. *Senate Journal, p. 1077.* Signed by Gov. Elliott W. Major on March 22d. *House Journal, p. 1653; 47th Ass., Session Acts, pp. 349ff.*

the members in 1911. She was unwilling to risk the possession of it to the temporary housing in the State Capitol. Now that the state has a magnificent fireproof apartment for its historical documents she is at work, with the aid of Miss Kochtitzky, in the reproduction of a copy of it for the Secretary of State's office and another copy for The State Historical Society of Missouri.

The fact that Mrs. Oliver designed it, the further fact that it was twice championed in the Senate by Senator Arthur L. Oliver, and was finally passed by the bill introduced by the Honorable Charles C. Oliver, has entitled it to the name it has always borne—"the Oliver Flag."

MISSOURI CAPITALS AND CAPITOLS.

JONAS VILES.

SECOND ARTICLE.

VII. THE FIRST STATE CAPITOL, 1826 TO 1837.

The Legislature, as we have seen, made its final choice of the Jefferson City site as the permanent seat of government on December 31, 1821; on January 11, 1822, the governor approved of a supplementary act directing the commissioners to lay out the town. There were to be at least a thousand in-lots, while the remainder of the four sections was to be divided into out-lots of 5, 10, 20, and 40 acres. Clearly the Assembly was planning for a considerable city; the main street was to be not less than 100 nor more than 120 feet wide, the other streets not less than 80 feet. All the lots were to be sold at public auction to the highest bidder on the first Monday in May, 1823. And finally, and most important in the present connection, the law offered a premium of $100 for the best plan of the public buildings to be erected, if the plan were adopted by the next Assembly.

The next Assembly, in the act approved December 19, 1822, appointed a board of trustees for Jefferson City, reduced the number of lots to be sold to 200, provided for a settlement with Langhan, and set forth the general specifications for the first capitol building. In the absence of any known print or drawing of the building, these specifications, together with the slightly more detailed description of the trustees in their advertisement for bids, give the most important data on which a description can be based. As a matter of fact, the Assembly did not plan a capitol building at all, but a governor's residence; it was to be erected on the lot selected by the trustees as the most convenient and eligible for the residence of the future governors, and the trustees were "in constructing the said building to take into consideration both the accommoda-

tion of the general assembly and its convenience, and the residence of the Governors of the State." "Two of the apartments . . . shall be suitably constructed and finished for . . . . the use of the general assembly until the state house shall be erected."

The trustees supplemented[54] the general description of the act of "a good and convenient brick building not more than sixty feet long nor more than forty feet wide, two stories high, with suitable rooms and fireplaces" by requiring a rock foundation (but apparently no basement) and specifying three rooms and a passage on each floor, "the necessary doors and windows," and eight fireplaces, all to be finished according to a plan in the possession of the trustees. The advertisement gave as the dimensions the maximum permitted by the act. Under these very general specifications James Dunnicai and Daniel Colgan built the first capitol, receiving therefor after a spirited opposition in the house, by the act of February 6, 1825, $18,573. After the assembly met in the new capitol it repaid $235.21 to the commissioner for money advanced for fitting up the "State House;" in 1829 $966.25 were appropriated for covering the flat part of the roof of the Governor's house" with lead, enclosing the lot with a fence, and levelling and seeding down the grounds, all of which improvements having been authorized in the previous session, with $150 for a brick privy. This assembly authorized also the construction of a brick kitchen and smokehouse and a log or frame stable, all to cost not over $500. The commissioner, however, reported to the next assembly that he did not regard the kitchen as necessary but had built the stable at a cost of $216.67.[55] Apparently then the total cost of the building and grounds and improvements was $20,141.13.

The first capitol or government house, erected on the site of the present governor's mansion, apparently served its dual purpose as the official residence of the governor and the meeting place of the assembly until 1834. The seventh assembly, the same body that seems to have set at rest the doubts as to

[54] *Mo. Intell., Feb. 11, 1823.*
[55] *House Journal, 6th Ass., 140.*

the retention of the capitol at Jefferson City by providing for the penitentiary, also appropriated $5000 to lease, purchase or erect a house for the accommodation of the governor. Accordingly a house was provided across the street from the original government building, on the present site of the Madison Hotel. It is clear from scattered references in the Assembly Journals and the reports of the Auditor that up to this time the departments of state were not located in the capitol but in rented quarters in the town.

When the governor moved out, the offices of the secretary of state, auditor and the state library were moved in. The seventh assembly in both houses spent considerable time in discussing the remodelling of the building so as to enlarge the rooms "now occupied by the General Assembly as a state house," and finally authorized the commissioner of the jail and penitentiary to make such repairs, to be paid for on the approval of the governor. A somewhat careful search of the records fails to disclose any evidence that any actual repairs or alterations were made. Early in the next assembly, in November, 1834, a resolution was introduced into the House for the erection of a two story addition for the use of the House,[56] but no action was taken; in 1836 it was suggested that one-third of the tables be moved out of the room occupied by the House so as to give the members more room.[57] Anyone must have seen that the erection of a new capitol in the near future was inevitable, indeed the agitation for such action was already under way, so naturally there was great reluctance in expending money for obviously temporary accommodations.

The Assembly delayed too long, however; in February, 1837, it provided for a new capitol and November 14 of the same year the old building was completely destroyed by fire. The fire[58] seems to have started in the boxing of the hearth in the office of the Secretary of State in the second floor, and, very likely after smouldering for a long time, spread to an

[56] *Ibid*, 8th Ass., 83.
[57] *Ibid*, 9th Ass., 10.
[58] My account of the fire is based on the *Jeffersonian Republican* (Library of Congress), Nov. 18, 1837.

adjoining case or cabinet, built of pine and full of papers. The fire was discovered by the son of the auditor, who slept in his father's office, when he returned after supper. The room below was already on fire and in spite of the immediate response to the alarm and every effort, the building was completely gutted. Nothing of any importance was saved from the Secretary's office; only a part of the State Library in the room adjoining was rescued, but the Auditor's office on the floor below suffered little except in the loss of the list of lands to be sent to the counties. The furniture of the Senate was burned, that of the House was saved but considerably damaged. The loss of the records for the early days of statehood and presumably of the territorial period in the Secretary of State's office is irreparable for the historian.

There seems to be no picture, drawing or plan of this first capitol building. The only evidence I have been able to discover on which to base a description or restoration is extremely meagre, consisting of the specifications already given, certain rather vague and confusing proposals for alterations in the *House Journal* in 1833[59] and the contemporary account of the fire. The following tentative description is based very largely on common sense and general assumption, but it is at least consistent with the evidence. The dimensions of the building were undoubtedly sixty by forty; the front was toward the north or the river. There was an attic or loft used for storage purposes, so the roof was a sloping one, and apparently from the account of the fire, as one would expect, of shingles. The fireplace in the Secertary of State's office was on the end, so there is some slight ground for assuming four chimneys each with two fireplaces, two at either end. One of course is tempted to go still further and picture a brick gable end, giving a very common type of construction. Balance and symmetry demand a central entrance, which fits our slight knowledge of the interior plan; there was a large window—that is, a window larger than the rest—in the hall on the second floor. But the small amount expended on the building necessitated the plainest sort of construction and

[59] *House Journal, 7th Ass., 221-3.*

excluded ornament; the first capitol at best, could have boasted of nothing more than a certain dignity that goes with simplicity and obvious adaption to its use.

The reconstruction of the interior is even more uncertain. Assuming a central hall on each floor of at least ten feet in width—both frank assumptions—we would have on the south side of this hall a large room on each floor, of dimensions roughly forty by twenty-five. These, of course, were the meeting places of the House and Senate,—in 1837, the Senate chamber was on the second floor, the House, on the first. Across the hall were four rooms, all apparently opening out of the hall. Here the governor lived until the completion of the first governor's mansion in 1834, and here the Secretary of State, the Auditor and the State Library were quartered in 1837. The Secretary was on the front of the building on the second floor, the Library in the room behind and the Auditor on the first floor. If these smaller rooms were of equal size, they were about twenty-five by twenty feet—somewhat inadequate for the Department of State even in 1837.

VIII. The Second State Capitol, 1837-1911.

The first capitol building was frankly intended to be a temporary expedient, to be used eventually as the governor's mansion when the permanent capitol was erected. Instead, as we have seen, the governor was provided with a new mansion and the executive departments and the state library were moved into the old building. But clearly this arrangement could not be permanent; more commodious quarters were needed. The Senate had increased in membership from 14 to 24, and the House from 55 to 71, between the first meeting at Jefferson City and the apportionment adopted in 1833, and the business of the departments in a much greater proportion. As a matter of fact there was a continued and persistent agitation for a new building beginning in the session of 1832-33. The resolution[60] introduced into the House that it was expedient to erect a building for the General Assembly was not adopted,

[60] *House Journal, 7th Ass., 50, 59.*

it is true, the Assembly preferring to provide the governor with a separate mansion and by resolution authorize the repair or alteration of the old building, but the very wording of the resolution, describing the old capitol as "the building now used as a statehouse" seems to imply a temporary expedient. In his message[61] to the next Assembly in 1834, Governor Dunklin devotes a paragraph to the building of a new capitol, inclining to the opinion that it would be well to wait and defray the expense out of the surplus revenue after the state debt had been paid. But he pointed out that any substantial increase in the size of the assembly in the reapportionment in 1836 would demand larger accommodations. But the Assembly was not ready for the project and the House by an almost two-thirds majority referred the bill for the building of a new state house to the next assembly.[62]

Governor Boggs, however, in his inaugural message[63] to the Ninth Assembly, dated November 22, 1836, urged without qualification the erection of a new capitol. His arguments were the obvious ones that the present quarters were too small for the health or efficient action of the Assembly, that the House met virtually behind closed doors, because of the lack of accommodation for the public, and that the situation would be still more intolerable with the expected increase in the number of counties and the reapportionment of representatives. With almost prophetic words he pointed out the danger of destruction by fire to the records of the Auditor, Secretary of State and the State Library. The governor urged that the new building be fireproof and adequate for all departments.

The Assembly gave this recommendation careful consideration. The chief differences of opinion which developed were first whether a new capitol to accommodate the legislative and executive departments should be erected, or simply new fireproof quarters for the departments; and secondly what amount should be appropriated.[64] The commissioner of the

[61] *Senate Journal, 8th Ass., 13.*
[62] *House Journal, 8th Ass., 378.*
[63] *Senate Journal, 9th Ass., 18.*
[64] *Ibid,* 271-2; *House Journal,* 9th Ass., 173, 195, 241, 338.

permanent seat of government estimated that the lots still unsold in Jefferson City would bring in $75,000 if a new capitol were provided for; Governor Boggs submitted a plan which he estimated could be completed for $75,000. The legislature finally passed an appropriation for that amount, but at the same time enacted that the proceeds from the sale of the old capitol and from the lots should count toward the $75,000 and that the remainder should be borrowed thru 6% bonds. And so at last, more than sixteen years since the meeting of the first legislature, Missouri made provision for a permanent state house.[65]

The Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor, Treasurer and Attorney General were to act as commissioners for the erection of the capitol with full powers to select an architect and plans and to contract for the work. The general specifications were that the building should be located on "Capitol Hill", that it should be adequate for the accommodation of the Assembly and the executive Departments; "and shall be, as far as practicable, fire-proof, inside and outside, especially the offices of state; the building shall be covered with sheet copper or lead, and executed interiorly of brick, and exteriorly of stone."

The commissioners selected as the architect Mr. Stephen Hills, or Hilles, later architect of the first Academic Hall of the University at Columbia, a wise and fortunate choice as both buildings bore witness. The work seems to have gotten under way slowly; apparently little progress had been made when the old State House burned and as late as May, 1838, the building had not risen above the foundations. When the Tenth Assembly met in November, in the Cole county court house, the walls were not yet up to the height of the main body of the house. And two years later, although the assembly met in the new capitol, the interior was quite unfinished and, as will appear, the cost continued to grow.[66] In fact, it

[65] *Senate Journal, 9th Ass., 152; House Journal, 9th Ass., 272; Session Acts, 9th Ass., 31.*

[66] *The Jeffersonian (Library of Congress), May 5, 1838; Senate Journal, 10th Ass., 22; House Journal, 11th Ass., 459.*

is somewhat difficult to say when the capitol was completed for in 1853 $20,000 was appropriated to "finish" the building.

Governor Bogg's conception of an adequate building evidently expanded as time went on. He reported to the Assembly in 1837 a plan that seemed adequate to him then, costing $75,000 to complete. But in his message[67] to the next Assembly in 1838, he calmly informs them that it will require $125,000 beyond the original appropriation to complete the building according to the plans adopted. The House[68] very naturally asked the capitol commissioners whether the plan adopted differed from that reported at the last session, and asked for detailed reports as to expenditures, yet the Assembly with much less apparent opposition than one might have expected authorized the borrowing of the additional $125,000.

The storm broke, however, when the next Assembly found a capitol still unfinished, all but a few dollars of the $200,000 appropriated already expended, unpaid bills outstanding for about $20,000, incurred to protect the building for the winter and prepare it for the meeting of the Assembly, and about $30,000 needed to complete the building according to the plans, thus bringing the total cost up to $250,000.[69] Moreover the panic of 1837 had made it impossible to sell more than $40,000 of the 6% bonds, the sale of lots had realized only $5,000 and the balance of the $200,000 had been borrowed from the state bank on the unsold bonds as collateral.[70] That is, instead of paying for the capitol fifty years hence when the bonds matured, the Assembly was called upon to find at once $155,000 to repay this loan from the bank. It is little wonder that the Committee on Ways and Means in the House reported:[71] "All that the committee can show for this immense debt is a half-finished State House; and it affords a melancholy spectacle of the interested feelings, and misguided ambitions, that erected it. Without, it presents an imposing appearance; but enter it; it is a rough skeleton; hugh beams,

[67] *Senate Journal, 10th Ass., 22.*
[68] *House Journal, 10th Ass., 33.*
[69] *Senate Journal, 11th Ass., 446-47.*
[70] *Senate Journal, 11th Ass., 554-5.*
[71] *House Journal, 11th Ass., 459.*

bare walls, rough uncovered frames, open windows without sash or glass." The committee recommended the payment of the bills already contracted and the appropriation of $8,000 to put it in a situation where it will not receive injury. It was to remain in its incompleted state until the finances of the state justified its completion; reading between the lines it is evident that it was to stand as a monument of the folly of Governor Boggs. The report of the commissioners[72] indicates that the above description did not exaggerate unduly the unfinished condition of the interior.

The House, through a committee, made searching investigations of the contracts and expenditures on the new building, and in spite of the exasperation and disappointment of the members, came to the conclusion that the work had been honestly done, at reasonable prices, without waste or favoritism.[73] The Committee on Public Buildings in the House finally recommended the appropriation of $52,000 to pay the debts and complete the capitol according to the plans.[74] The assembly in the end appropriated $5,000 in cash and authorized the issue of $25,000 5–10 year bonds, at not over 10%, and $12,000 5–10 year bonds at not over 7%. This total of $42,000 was to pay the outstanding debts and for the work of furnishing the capitol. But this was not the final appropriation by any means. The twelfth assembly,[75] of 1842-43, it is true, declined to appropriate the $7,000 asked for to plaster the rotunda and passage, although Governor Reynolds urged it;[76] by 1849 the estimated cost of finishing the capitol, including the basement in style corresponding to parts already finished, had risen to $20,175,[77] but again the Assembly declined to act.[78] No doubt the recrudescence of the old DeLisle claim and the uncertainty as to the title of the capitol site helped to discourage further expenditure. Finally, in

[72] *Senate Journal, 11th Ass., 542.*
[73] *House Journal, 11th Ass., 530, 534.*
[74] *Ibid, 531.*
[75] *House Journal, 12th Ass., 628, 407; Senate Journal, 12th Ass., 515.*
[76] *House Journal, 12th Ass., 34.*
[77] *House Journal, 15th Ass., App. 255.*
[78] *Senate Journal, 15th Ass., 448.*

1853, the Seventeenth General Assembly appropriated $20,000 to finish the capitol; and this time the work was done within the appropriation.[79] Meanwhile $1,500 had been voted in 1847 for the improvement of the capitol grounds, followed in 1855 and 1857 by the enlargement of the grounds at a cost of $18,500 and in 1860 by $10,000 more for completing the improvement of the capitol grounds. It would seem, then, that the building cost about $262,000—a few thousand more from the sale of lots under continuing appropriations may have gone into it—and the grounds, $30,000, a total of $292,000 or around $300,000 in round numbers.[80] Although thanks to the determination of Governor Boggs that the new capitol should meet his ideas of what was fitting and appropriate, the building alone cost three and one-half times the original estimate, yet in spite of the public indignation he never wavered in his confidence in his judgment, and in his last message[81] to the Assembly, he speaks of "The splendid edifice which . . . commands the attention and admiration of every beholder" and mentions the capitol, with the bank and the university, as the fruits of his administration. And today there seems no doubt that the governor rather than the Assembly was right in the conception of what the capitol of Missouri ought to be, and that despite his "high finance" in raising the money, he was a benefactor to the state.

This second capitol was a building 185 feet by 81, two stories in height, built of brick and rubble work and faced on the outside with four inch polished stone, quarried on the edge of town. The interior consisted of a central rotunda, with a semicircular portico, both retained in the remodelling of 1889; the first floor of the wings was given over to the departments, the second, to the Assembly. The most striking

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[79] *Senate Journal, 18th Ass., 299.*

[80] The 11th Assembly failed to make any provision for the repayment of the loan contracted by Governor Boggs from the Bank on the Capitol bonds as security, but in spite of scathing committee reports in the 12th Assembly (*House Journal, 586. 589, 593*; *Senate Journal, 511*) denouncing in very plain terms the illegality of the loan and the violation of the intention of the Assembly, in the end $155,000 in 10 year 8% bonds were authorized and the bank reimbursed.

[81] *Senate Journal, 11th Ass., 17, 28.*

feature of the exterior was the central dome. Altogether the pictures[82] show a dignified design of undoubted architectural merit.

This second capitol served the needs of the state without enlargement or expense except for upkeep and general repairs until 1887. It is interesting to note the appearance of the modern improvements such as gas lighting in 1870, but the building remained practically unchanged. There in 1849, Benton made his famous appeal to the people of Missouri against the instructions embodied in the famous Jackson Resolutions, and there two years later he went down to defeat on the fortieth ballot, beaten by a coalition of his enemies with the Whigs. The old building saw the fiery debates in the troubled months early in 1861 and the opening sessions of the convention that refused to carry Missouri out of the Union; in it met the convention of the radicals in 1870 when nearly half the delegates bolted and made possible the restoration of the conservatives to power; here met the convention of 1875 which drafted the present frame of government of Missouri.

But with the steady increase in population and wealth and particularly with the coming of new departments and commissions to deal with the industrial and economic problem the old building became quite inadequate. Proposals for the enlargement of the capitol were made in the Assembly in 1881 and 1883; a bill to that effect passed the Senate in 1885, but was lost in the House;[83] finally in 1887 an act was passed and approved by the governor appropriating $259,000 to enlarge and render fireproof the state capitol, build fireproof vaults and provide a heating system, all to be completed by January, 1, 1889.

This appropriation was nearly as much as was spent on the original building, but neither the passage of the bill through the Assembly nor the actual remodelling left many traces on the records. Expending a quarter of a million out

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[82] *Official Manual, 1913-14, 16.*

[83] *House Journal, 31st Ass., 182, 1120; Senate Journal, 33d Ass. 612; House Journal, 33d Ass., 1109.*

of the general revenue was simply part of the day's work, a striking evidence of the development of the state in the fifty years previous. The changes in general consisted in extending the wings north and south, new roofs to the wings, and a remodelling and elevation of the dome, with numerous changes in the interior, including "fireproof" tile floors and fireproof vaults. The repairs disclosed the fact that the floor timbers in the old building were rotting badly, making complete replacement necessary in the near future. The new wings were each 76 by 109 feet, making (apparently) the total length of the reconstructed building 337 feet. The total cost of this rebuilding is not quite clear. The committee on the permanent seat of government of the House in 1889 reported expenditures and contracts totalling $224,870.17, but the Auditor's report seems to show an expenditure of $244,534.65, not a serious discrepancy. To this should be added perhaps all or part of the expenditures under appropriations made in 1890 for finishing the north wing, painting the interior and for gas fixtures, totalling $18,683.63. That is, the cost of the reconstruction very closely approximated the original cost of the building.

Meanwhile the state had been steadily increasing its investment in public buildings at Jefferson City. In 1861, $20,000 was voted for a new governor's mansion but the confusion and lack of revenue during the war effectually blocked any construction. Ten years later $50,000 was appropriated and the present governor's mansion built on the site of the original capitol. In 1860, $1,500 was set apart for an armory, supplemented by more generous grants in 1861 and 1863; in 1877, $17,000 was appropriated for the old Supreme Court building, constructed largely by convict labor. The last of the state buildings before the present capitol was the new Supreme Court building, for which the unexpended balance of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition fund was appropriated in 1905, the building was completed in 1907 at a total cost of $379,920.01.[84]

[84] *Auditor's Report, 1905-6, 258* ($185,456.90); *Ibid, 1907-8, 241* ($194,307.17), *Ibid, 1909-10, 285* ($155.94).

On the evening of Sunday, February 5, 1911, a bolt of lightning struck the cupola or upper part of the dome of this second capitol and kindled a fire which resulted in its destruction. It proved impossible to carry a hose to the origin of the fire or to reach it with a stream from the outside. For a time it seemed possible that the fire might be confined to the dome and extinguished when it burned down within range of the firemen, but the casing of the dome cracked off and crashed through the roofs of the wings. In spite of the law that the reconstruction in 1887 should be of fireproof character, the new roofs had been framed with wooden timbers,[85] so that the flaming fragments of the dome fell into a maze of tinder, dry beams and joists. The entire second story was completely burned out, in spite of the mass of water thrown upon it. But the second floor, built according to the demand for fireproof construction, held and there seemed every hope that the first story of the wings might be saved when the water main supplying the capitol burst under the tremendous pressure. From early Monday morning until Tuesday morning the firemen were helpless. The dome and rotunda had been gutted to the basement, so that in these twenty-four hours the fire ate its way from room to room in the basement. When the main was repaired the fire was quickly drowned out.

The result was rather curious. The furniture and the historical paintings in the House and Senate chambers were completely destroyed; some of the minor departments which were located on the first floor within the original building suffered severely, the basement rooms in the central part were completely burned out. But the first floor of the wings, where the more important state officers, the Secretary of State, Auditor and Treasurer had their offices, escaped nearly unscathed. The Auditor lost a small part of his records, in the office nearest the center of the building; the Secretary lost nothing on the first floor and succeeded in removing the extremely valuable Land Office records from the basement. He did lose, how-

[85] *House Journal, 35th Ass., 997.*

ever, the larger part of his reserved supply of printed House and Senate Journals and Supreme Court Reports, and, most important of all, the legislative documents since the previous fire in 1837. Only a small part of these were rescued at great personal risk by trusties from the penitentiary after the water was again available on Tuesday.

On the whole the loss was surprisingly small and the state extremely fortunate; the most important departments were able to resume their normal activities as soon as temporary quarters in the old Supreme Court building could be fitted up. But surely the combination of a thunder storm in February and the kindling of the fire in the one inaccessible spot seems very like what our Puritan forbears would have called a "special Providence".

On Monday, February 6, 1911, the Senate met in the Cole county court house, the House in the Jefferson theatre; the House soon located for the rest of the session in St. Peter's Hall and the Senate in the Supreme Court building. The executive departments moved to the old Supreme court building, while the minor boards and commissions found rented quarters in the town. It was apparent at once that under the most favorable circumstances a new capitol building could not be completed before 1914, so the Assembly appropriated $77,000 to roof over and repair roughly the wings of the old capitol. Instead, however, probably because of distrust of the stability of the old walls and of the probability that the old buildings would interfere with the construction of the new, an entirely new temporary building was erected at a cost of $77,427.58, for building and furnishing. From 1912 to 1917 this was the location of the various departments and boards and the meeting place of the Assembly.

IX. The Third Capitol, 1917.

In 1911 as in 1837, the agitation for a new capitol antedated the destruction of the old, but in neither case was the new building ready when the old was burned; indeed in 1911, the new capitol was not even authorized. The additions and

repairs to the second capitol in the eighties had afforded only temporary relief, coming as they did at the opening of a period when the activities of the government through the old departments and new boards and commissions were increasing rapidly. Within fifteen years the movement for a new capitol was well under way. The Forty-second Assembly, in 1903, submitted to the people a constitutional amendment providing that for the next five years a tax of four cents on the hundred dollars should be levied to provide a fund for the construction of a new capitol. The approaching extinction of the state debt may have aided the passage of this amendment through the assembly, but it found no favor with the people. In the general election of 1904 it was beaten by a vote of more than two to one, securing a majority in only five counties.[86] The crowded conditions in the departments was reaching a point where it seriously threatened their efficiency and the Forty-fifth Assembly, in 1909, submitted another amendment, calling for a bond issue of $5,000,000. In the election of 1910 this too was defeated by a vote of five to three, securing a majority in only seven counties.[87] Clearly the people were not ready for the expenditure.

The actual destruction of the older building of course changed the situation completely and compelled the erection of a new capitol. Proposals to change the location of the capitol or to submit the question of a change to a popular vote found little favor in the assembly or in the state;[88] the differences of opinion were rather over the amount to be spent and the method of submitting the bond issue to the people.[89] The ordinary way of securing authority for the bond issue was of course, through a constitutional amendment submitted to the people at the next election, November, 1912; indeed, such an amendment had been introduced into the House[90] on

[86] *Official Manual, 1905-6, 541.*

[87] *Official Manual, 1911-12, 784.*

[88] *St. Louis Republic, Feb.-Mar. 1911, passim; (Jefferson City) Democrat-Tribune, Feb. 6, 1911 et seq.: House Journal, 46th Ass., 344, 970, 520, 771.* Gov. Hadley opposed a change of location; House and Senate Journal, 46th Ass., App. 2X, 5.

[89] *St. Louis Republic, editorial, Feb. 12, 1911 et seq.*

[90] *House Journal, 46th Ass., 117.*

January 20, before the fire. The alternative method was to consider the destruction of the capitol an unforseen emergency under article 4, section 44 of the Constitution, which empowered the Assembly to submit to a referendum vote at a special election an act carrying the bond issue. A two-thirds vote would be necessary for ratification and the bonds must be paid in thirteen years. Governor Hadley[91] recommended the second method because of the saving in time; probably the fact that it avoided all complication with the question of capitol removal made it attractive to some. The necessity for a two-thirds majority and the short term of the bonds were the most obvious objections. The contest in the Assembly finally crystallized into a bill for $3,000,000, raised to $3,500,000 by the committee on conference of the two houses,[92] to be submitted to an immediate referendum, and a constitutional amendment for $5,000,000. In the end both measures were passed with the proviso that if the first received the necessary two-thirds vote the second should not be submitted to the people. In the special election of August 1, the referendum carried by a three to one vote; it authorized the issue of $3,500,000 bonds, three million for the building, three hundred thousand for furnishing and two hundred thousand for enlarging the capitol grounds.

The Forty-sixth Assembly created a State Capitol Commission Board for the purpose of building a new state capitol, in case the people endorsed the bond issue. The board, elected by the board of the permanent seat of government, was to consist of four members, chosen equally from the two leading political parties. Besides many detail provisions as to bonds, contracts, etc., the act required that the plan of the new capitol should be selected by a competitive architectural contest, that the building should be constructed of Missouri stone, and that no contract should take effect until all the work was contracted for. The board of permanent seat of government elected E. W. Stephens and Joseph C. A. Hiller, democrats, and Theodore Lacaff and Alfred A. Speer, republicans. On

[91] *House and Senate Journal, 46th Ass., app. 3z, 5.*
[92] *House Journal, 46th Ass., 1043.*

October 6, 1911, the board organized by electing E. W. Stephens chairman.

A year and a half elapsed[93] before the ground was broken and actual construction began, on May 6, 1913. The delay was due to uncertainty as to the temporary repair of the old building, which occupied part of the site of the new, to difficulties in the sale of bonds, to the prohibition of partial contracts, and most of all to the time needed for the architectural competition. The board proceeded at once, early in 1912, to acquire additional land, to visit various quarries in the state and the newer capitols in neighboring states. With data thus secured the board issued a program for the architectural competition. The American Institute of Architects, however, refused to approve it, thus eliminating all the leading architects of the country from the competition. As the aims of the board and the institute were the same and the differences ones of method, they readily reached an agreement; the competition was to consist of two stages, in the first of which ten candidates were to be selected, in the second, the actual architect. On October 6, 1912, the board ratified the final selection of Tracy and Swartout of New York. This is the first time that the architect of a state capitol has been selected by a competition under the rules of the American Institute, rules which ensure the anonymity of the contestants, absolutely fair decision by experts, and the award of the contract to their selection.

As the Forty-seventh Assembly provided for a bonus or commission for the sale of the capitol bonds and empowered the board to make partial contracts, work now moved much more rapidly. On May 6, 1913, work on the foundation was started; it was completed in December. After a spirited competition the contract for the building proper was awarded late in the same year to the lowest bidder, John Gill and Sons Company, of Cleveland, Ohio. The steel frame work was pushed rapidly to completion, by August 12, 1914, but the stone work was not started until December 31. The con-

[93] For the progress of Construction to Jan. 1, 1917, see *Reports of Capitol Board, 1912, 1913, 1915.*

tractor and the board did not agree as to the meaning of the specifications as to the stone; the interpretation of the board prevailed and the exterior of the building is constructed of limestone from Carthage, Cassville and Phenix.

Thus one year elapsed, after the organization of the board, before the architect was selected; two, before the contract was awarded; and three years before the beginning of the exterior walls. Since January 1, 1915, construction went on at a normal rate. By February 1, 1917, the building was 90% completed, interior and exterior, except certain details of exterior decoration. In September a final settlement was made with the contractors. Some work remains to be done on the terrace and grading of the grounds. Unfortunately the river approach and the viaduct over the railroad which were such attractive details of the original plan, have proved too much expense for the total amount authorized. It is to be hoped that the legislature in the near future will be able to appropriate the half million needed thus to take full advantage of the unique river site.

There is no doubt that the capitol will be built and furnished within the original appropriation. The structure itself will cost, including architects' fees and cost of administration, in round numbers three million and a half, covered by the original appropriation of three million and accrued interest. The cost of enlarging the grounds was slightly less than the two hundred thousand authorized. In the summer of 1917 the board completed the contracts for furnishings and equipment, for which three hundred thousand was set apart.

Although the building has not yet been formally dedicated, it has been in full use for several months. The first official acts performed in the new capitol was the signing in the presence of the capitol board, of his message to the assembly by Governor Major. The inaugural ball of Governor Gardner was held in the west museum in the basement of the new building; the Senate and House of the Forty-ninth Assembly held formal meetings in their respective chambers on March 16, 1917. The real occupation of the capitol came in the late

summer of 1917 with the entrance of the various departments and boards.[94]

I shall attempt no description of this dignified and beautiful building now so nearly completed. The report of the board to the Forty-Seventh Assembly contains both views and floor plans, reproduced in part in the Official Manual for 1913-14; the report of the board to the Forty-eighth Assembly shows some interesting interior detail. In architectural merit, convenience and adaption to the use for which it is intended and in honesty and economy of construction this third of the state's capitols is a source of pride to every citizen. There is little in common between the first capitol, with its two stories and less than 5,000 square feet of floor space and a cost of less than $20,000 and the present monumental building, with four floors and some ten acres of floor area, at a cost of three millon and a half dollars. Yet the contrast merely reflects the growth of a hundred years. The first capitol building, severely plain and inexpensive, confessedly temporary, represents a frontier community striving to establish itself; the second, with its simple dignity suggests that the hardest struggle with the wilderness had been won, but that society and governmental problems were still uncomplicated. The remodelling and additions in the eighties, strictly utilitarian in character, were in keeping with the period of commercial and industrial expansion. But the present building combining as it does architectural and artistic excellence with skillful adaption to its uses shows an intelligence of and appreciation for the higher things in life.

[94] I am indebted to Mr. E. W. Stephens, Chairman of the Capitol Board, for information as to progress since Jan. 1, 1917.

GOTTFRIED DUDEN'S "REPORT", 1824-1827.

TRANSLATED BY WILLIAM G. BEK.

SEVENTH ARTICLE.

March 10, 1827.

"Day after tomorrow I shall begin my return journey. My effects I am sending to St. Louis by land. Steamboating on the Missouri is not yet in a very flourishing condition. From time to time steamboats are seen here, but the population is still too small to warrant regular trips by boats. The state of Missouri is the 24th, and so the youngest in the union, and has till now sent only one representative to Congress, from which you can judge the number of inhabitants. Missouri has a population of 80,000, not including the settlers who are not yet citizens. Mail coaches go regularly twice a week as far west as Franklin. In St. Louis I shall go by steamboat down the Mississippi and up the Ohio as far as Pittsburg. This is a journey by water of between fourteen and fifteen hundred miles. From Pittsburg I shall go by mail coach to the little city of Erie on the lake of the same name, and from there by lake-steamer to Buffalo. From Buffalo I shall take a side trip to the Niagra Falls, and then by way of the great New York canal to Albany on the Hudson. From Albany steamboats go daily to New York in less than twenty-four hours. I could travel more comfortably and more quickly by way of New Orleans, but boats, which sail from there to the ports of the Netherlands are rather scarce, and from a French port the way to my home by land is too expensive in view of my baggage. Then, too, the charges from New Orleans are disproportionately higher than from the eastern coast.

"For four weeks the weather has been so pleasant that I have been able to take the most delightful excursions daily. I have once more visited all the hills and valleys whither I

was accustomed to walk or ride. It is also hard for me to part with my domestic animals."

The remainder of the letter tells of the attachment which he feels for his horses, and their attachment to him. Finally he reiterates the already oft stated fact that there is no fear of thieves and robbers and Indians in Missouri.

THE THIRTY-THIRD LETTER.

Pittsburg, March 30, 1827.

"I have again arrived at the border of the Atlantic states. In Germany one will hardly be able to believe, that one can travel far more comfortably and more cheaply from the far-off Mississippi to this place, than a person can travel in any country of Europe. And yet there is no exaggeration in this assertion.

"During the whole year, excepting perhaps the month of January and the first part of February, steamboats from New Orleans and from the Ohio arrive daily at St. Louis. The journey to New Orleans requires five days. The price of a cabin is twenty-four dollars, which includes board and a bed. The return journey requires about nine or ten days and costs forty dollars. Such a roundtrip journey formerly, in the ordinary ships, required more than half a year. From this you may judge what steamboating means to the interior of America. Formerly the advantageous utilization of distant lands could not be thought of. It was necessary to wait until the growing population had gradually come nearer. Now that the annihilation of space has almost been accomplished, human energy can direct itself chiefly to the utilization of the best soil, leaving the poorer parts, for the time being, to the wild animals. The cabins of some of the steamboats are spacious and high like the largest guest rooms of hotels, and splendidly furnished with costly carpets, chandeliers, sophas, etc. So, for instance, the steamboat Atlanta of Louisville may justly be called a floating palace. The floors of the cabins in the steamboats of the Mississippi and its tributaries are a good deal higher than the surface of the water in the streams in which respect

they differ from the steamboats along the Atlantic, where it is necessary to descend into them. There is a special cabin for ladies, but they dine in the large cabin with the gentlemen. The second rate places, which are above the cabins and are called the deckroom, cost about one third of the price of the cabin, if the passenger supplies his own meals, but if he dines at the ship's table it costs one half of the cabin price. The boats on the Atlantic coast provide only one class of passage, while these boats on interior waters provide two classes. The second grade places are under roof, and on some boats completely protected against the weather. The passenger who must be economical can travel here very well. The discomforts of the steerage on an ocean vessel are not to be feared on these boats. There is never a lack of persons whose company is agreeable, and besides the opportunity is always at hand to change to cabin passage, if it be desired. At all the three meals the tables are admirably provided. Spiritous drinks must be separately paid for. It is, however, optional on the part of passengers to bring such drink on board the boat with their other belongings. Some of the passengers give tips to the stewards, while others do not. It is never expected. In general the practice of giving tips is unknown in the American hotels. No barkeeper would accept a tip, unless he happened to be a negro or mulatto, which is rarely the case. Only occasionally a negro or negress slyly asks a guest for a few cents after he has polished his shoes. Stable-hands do not even dare to make such a request.

"The whole journey in a cabin from St. Louis to Pittsburg did not cost more than forty dollars. I have some four hundred pounds of baggage, for which nothing is charged. The boat from St. Louis did not go any farther than to Louisville, or better only to Shippingport, about two miles below Louisville, to the falls of the Ohio. This distance was made in five days. This far it cost eighteen dollars. From Louisville to Pittsburg it cost two (should be twenty-two) dollars more. Such an American boat must be compared to a traveling hotel in which the captain is the host. An easier and more comfortable way of traveling over great distances can not be

wished for. Every day from six to eight steamboats met us going down the Ohio. The water in the river was at average height, and had a velocity of four English miles an hour, and still we progressed from seven to eight miles an hour. Down stream we would therefore have made fifteen or sixteen miles an hour. The journey continued day and night, discounting short stops to take on or let off passengers, as also stops for taking on wood or fuel, of which great piles are every where along the banks. On every boat there are accurate charts of the river, according to which the pilot can steer his boat with safety.

"My traveling company consisted of merchants from the western states, who are accustomed to purchase their wares on the Atlantic coast, of farmers, doctors and lawyers. I also met a mechanic from London who had delivered steam engines at the mines in Mexico. He had been five years at Real del Catorze and gave a sad account of that country. Robbery and murder, he said were the order of the day there. Real del Catorze has a population of about forty thousand, and hardly a week passes without some case of murder being reported. He stated that at seven different times shots were fired into his house. Produce is very high because the people are too lazy to follow agricultural pursuits. He was obliged to pay seven dollars for one bushel of maize. He judged himself lucky to be in the United States and among human beings once more. Of the mining undertakings of the English he said, that five or six companies, after having lost some thirty million dollars, had ceased payments."

Two and a half pages are then devoted to a description of the banks of the Mississippi and the Ohio as the traveler saw them from the boat. He is generally enthusiastic about the land he has seen, but the ever recurring refrain is that the situation in Missouri is better still. He is fascinated by the idea of a trip by canoe or row-boat from Pittsburg to St. Louis, and estinates that the trip could be made in forty days. We read that the French called the Ohio 'the beautiful river' (la belle riviere), and Duden confesses that the pronunciation of the word 'Ohio' is offensive to his German ear. His men-

tion of the Ohio leads the writer again to speak of the Missouri. He computes that the Missouri and its tributaries together with their main tributaries presents a water way that is navigable to a total of 10,296 miles.

"At the mouth of the Wabash, a few miles above Shawnetown, I heard that the colony of the Wuertembergian clergyman Rapp had again returned to their old settlement near Pittsburg. Their property at New Harmony, on the east bank of the Wabash, has been bought by a Mr. Owen of New Lanerk, Scotland. This gentleman has amassed a considerable amount of wealth in his home country, being engaged in manufacturing enterprises, in which he employed the children of poor parents, giving to these children not only employment but also some educational advantages. The good results of his laudable endeavor for the education of the helpless seems to have awakened in him, as his wealth increased, the thought of working for the ennobling of the human race in general. At New Harmony he has undertaken the management of an institution, which aims at nothing less than the reformation of the entire human family by means of a culture which differs from the ordinary culture. A few of my fellow travelers claimed to know him well, and they related many queer things about his maxims, his method of instruction, and the mode of living which he had introduced in his institution of learning. There seems to be no doubt that Owen is sincere in his undertakings, and that his aim is good, tho he may err in the method of approaching the subject. Men of reputation, as for instance, the well known mineralogist, McClure, are associated with him."

The levelness of the prairies of Illinois makes this state unattractive to Duden, which means another boost for the hills of Missouri.—The writer claims that the fact that slavery is prohibited in Illinois is a great disadvantage to the European immigrant.—He is astonished at the rapid progress that has been made in the development of the city of Cincinnati during the two and a-half years since he has been there.

"A few miles below the mouth of the big Kenhava, which has its source in the highest mountains of Virginia, there is seen on the right bank of the Ohio the town of Gallipolis or

Galliopolis, in the county of Gallia. It consists of about eighty houses, and is the county seat. It was begun by the French in 1791 and 92. A company made up by owners of large tracts of land along the Ohio had distributed enticing pamphlets in Europe, whereby many people in France and especially in Paris were induced to buy large tracts of land which neither they nor their representatives had ever seen. They were for the most part people of the middle class, who, like the rest of France in those days, were intoxicated by chimerical hopes and fancied projects, and who without guidance and without preparation, trusting to good luck, sailed for America, to settle in a region which at that time still teemed with Indians. It would have been a miracle if such an undertaking had been crowned with success. The number of emigrants was about five hundred. They met with many hardships to which most of them succumbed. This sort of incident discredits every plan of emigration in the minds of the thoughtless masses who only look for results."

The remaining two pages tell of accidents the voyagers encountered—once being rammed by another boat, and two other times running onto sandbanks.

THE THIRTY-FOURTH LETTER.

Pittsburg, April 1, 1827.

After giving a brief description of the city of Pittsburg and the two rivers that join to form the Ohio, we read: "Here is the most important place for steamboating in the whole interior. Here most of the steamboats are made, and here is the chief distributing point of wares. The goods destined for the west are brought here by land from the Atlantic sea-board towns, to be loaded on steamboats and other crafts. On the other hand many goods also come from the west to this place on their way to the Atlantic coast. The pike road, built at federal expense from Baltimore to Wheeling has taken some business from Pittsburg. Much more, however, is the proposed railroad from Baltimore to Wheeling to be feared, as is

also the canal from Lake Erie to the Ohio, which is already half done. I found fourteen steamboats here which were being loaded."

The iron and steel industries of Pittsburg, as well as the great coal deposits near the city are spoken of. We are told that shipbuilding is now cheaper than it formerly was. On the Mississippi and its tributaries high pressure engines are used.

"My journey to Lake Erie has to be given up. The great New York canal, from Lake Erie to the Hudson river, is said not to be free of ice until the latter part of April."

THE THIRTY-FIFTH LETTER.

Philadelphia, April 26, 1827.

"In about two weeks I shall leave America. In Baltimore I found a fine big boat of more than four hundred tons, which is taking on cargo for Rotterdam. It is called the Armata, and is known to be a splendid sail-boat. Its captain, Joseph Harvey, is highly praised. From New York ships go almost daily to England, but with Holland the city of Baltimore has better communication than any other American city."

The ease of communication between Philadelphia and Baltimore, and Philadelphia and New York is discussed. In each instance the journey was made in part by water and in part by land. Bordenton, above Trenton is mentioned as the place where the former King of Spain, Joseph Napoleon, had lived for a while. Some of the buildings of his estate were said to be still standing. A brief account of the city of Philadelphia follows.—The water-works on the Schuylkill river attracted Duden's attention. A page is devoted to a mention of New York city. The hotels of these two cities receive special attention.

THE THIRTY-SIXTH LETTER.

Helvoetsluis, June 22, 1827.

"I hasten to announce to you my successful return. My journey to America required ten weeks, but this time I was only twenty-nine days on the sea, in spite of a calm of eight days near the American coast. For seven days we were held back in Chesapeake Bay, a distance which is often made in twenty-four hours."

Mention is made of the great number of ships that were some distance from Landsend.———The excellence of the ship Armata is spoken of.——The danger of icebergs receives due attention.———In conclusion we are told of approach to their destination and the prospective landing. "We are now in calm water and the hardships of the journey are ended."

Thus end Duden's letters.

The second part of Duden's 'Report' consists of a treatise entitled: *Concerning the Nature of the North American Free States, or, Concerning the Foundation of the Political Conditions of the North Americans.* This is a very wordy chapter with a manifest attempt of being philosophical. It is in reality nothing more than a reiteration of points already made in his letters, moving about the theme, that the happy situation of the Americans is to be sought in the fortunate condition of his surroundings. The question of excess of population is also dealt with in detail.

The third part of the 'Report' is called: *Supplement for Emigrating Farmers and for those who contemplate Commerical Undertakings.*

"a) *For Farmers.*

"I have repeatedly explained, why I regard emigration of a single individual or of a few individuals as dangerous. Here I repeat that the greatest danger is sickness. On the Atlantic

coast ample provision is made for medical assistance. But he who counts on making profit out of agriculture, or who posesses only small capital, should by no means stop on this side of the Alleghany Mountains. The European who leaves his Fatherland sacrifices something by his very separation from his native land. To this is added the cost of the journey and finally the expense of establishing a new home. Even the American can, as a rule, escape the loss connected with a change of residence only, by going to those regions where fertile, well situated land is still to be bought from the state. The situation of the European is far more serious. The more quickly he consummates a purchase from private individuals, the worse is the bargain which he is likely to make. And even if the purchase is reasonably advantageous, still his inexperience in the matter of American agriculture and his ignorance of the American mode of living will constitute dangerous handicaps. In short, if the American has cause to go to the west, the European has it in a double and triple sense. On the coast he is just as foreign as in the interior. A few hundred miles more are of no consequence to one who has made the ocean journey from Germany here. Anxiety because of dangers belong to the land of dreams. In the western states the immigrant can buy very cheaply from the state or from private owners. Here is the right place to settle in order to learn to feel at home in the new country, which to me seems impossible on the Atlantic coast. Besides the prospects for the future seem much more excellent in the Mississippi country. The Atlantic states have already progressed so far, that they cannot possibly keep step with the west. The settler in the Mississippi country, who is not all too careless in the selection of his place, can with confidence expect a more than twelve-fold increase of the value of his land in a period of twenty years. This period has long ago passed in the old states.

"It is unnecessary to remind the reader that the mere cheapness of the land must not be the determining factor in the choice of real estate. Only where other conditions for a successful and happy existence obtain, the price of the land

comes into consideration. For the European who travels at his own expense, there is a limit where the considerations of cheapness disappear entirely. To him it is a matter of indifference if he pays a dollar more or less for his land. Eighty acres are sufficient for the welfare of large family, and with the other unavoidable expenses of emigration and of founding a new settlement a saving of a hundred dollars is a matter of indifference.

"Pre-supposing, therefore, that only the settlements in the western states give assurance of certain success, I say, that emigration of individuals, without guidance and without medical protection is a very serious matter. But if one, nevertheless, must migrate in order not to use up his last bit of property in waiting for a favorable opportunity, for him I have written down the following advice:

"The territory of the western states is very extensive, so that the most natural question that arises, is, which part of this great region is most to be recommended to the German emigrants. In answering this queery, I will say in the first place, that immigrants who intend to farm should not settle in the southern states, where there is no winter. Those immi-. grants who plan to live in the cities will not feel the change of climate so much. The agriculturist, however, who, without gradual acclimatization, makes the transition from a rural community in Germany to a tropical plantation exposes his physical existence to the most serious dangers. Even the settlements at the mouth of the Arkansas are, perhaps, too far south. On the upper Arkansas the climate is better, as it is also on the whole of the Ohio with its tributaries, on the Missouri and on the Illinois. Later, after the German immigrant has become accustomed to the climate, he may with greater impunity risk going farther south. Even on the Ohio and the Missouri he will, during the first few years, in spite of the bright sky of the spring, summer and autumn, at times look with yearning to the coming of the winter. On the hills the air is indeed always pure, and the heat more rarely oppressive. But by going too far from the river the settler sacrifices many advantages of his undertaking. Along the great Canadian lakes the

winter is said to be too severe. Just on account of the long winters many families from Canada have settled along the Ohio and the Missouri. I have often been assured, that even in those parts of upper Canada where the climate is less severe, the earth is covered with snow for several months of the year, and that on this account the raising of live-stock is made very difficult.

"In the second place it should be noted that the land becomes dearer the nearer one gets to the eastern states. The only reason for this increase is that the population is greater, for, generally speaking, fertility of the soil decreases as the distance from the Mississippi increases. The greatest stretches of fertile land are along the largest rivers, and which regions on earth could be better located for east intercourse than the banks of the Mississippi? With the steady trend of population toward the west, and the exceedingly easy means of communication by steamboats, the advantage of older states, such as Ohio and Kentucky, not to speak of others, is not as significant, that a new-comer from Europe should overlook the opportunities which the lands west of the Mississippi, that have been opened to settlement only to decades ago, are able to offer. The uninterrupted stream of immigration from just those eastern states ought to attract the European's attention to this fact.———As I came thru the state of Ohio, I met different persons who were getting ready to make settlements on lake Erie. I heard that in this part of Ohio there is still much land to be bought from the government. The climate was described as rather mild, and above all the communication by water was praised. I have not been there, but I cannot believe that the climate is as good as on the lower Missouri and the Ohio rivers, and in regard to ease of communication by water, the regions along these rivers will be hardly less favored than the shores of Lake Erie. At any rate there is a greater choice of land along the Mississippi and its tributaries. The difference in traveling expenses is small. A fact well to be remembered is that along the shores of Lake Erie many Indians are still living, and that in the event of a war with

England, there on the border of Canada the main theaters of war would be laid.

"Consequently I can unreservedly recommend the State of Missouri to emigrants, and advise him to go directly to St. Louis on the Mississippi. Thither two ways lead. One leads to the Atlantic coast, to Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New York, the other thru the Gulf of Mexico to New Orelans.

"If the former route is chosen, the following points must be remembered. From the Atlantic coast the immigrant must direct himself to the Ohio, in order to make use of the steamboats, which transport him cheaply, comfortably and quickly. He has the choice of reaching the Ohio either at Pittsburg or at Wheeling. If he lands at Baltimore there is really no difference in the choice, for the difference of ninety niles by steamboat is insignificant. From Baltimore to Pittsburg they reckon the distance to be 230 English miles, to Wheeling 260. The road to Wheeling has hitherto been the better one. If the immigrant lands in Philadelphia, Pittsburg is to be preferred. The distance in 320 miles. The freight charges are not more than one and a half to two dollars per hundredweight. (If the proposed railroad from Baltimore to the Ohio is finished, this should, of course, be taken.) If the traveler lands in New York, he goes up the Hudson to Albany, then by way of the great canal to Buffalo on Lake Erie, from Buffalo to the city of Erie by lake, and from there 110 miles by land to Pittsburg. This way to the Ohio, is, of course, long, but the journey is made in almost the same time, and at almost the same cost as the way by land from Philadelphia. It is no doubt more comfortable, and for the transportation of baggage cheaper. As soon as the canal thru the state of Ohio, from Lake Erie to the Ohio is finished, the trip from Buffalo will be made by this waterway, which terminates at Portsmouth far below Pittsburg.

"In regard to the seasons the following is to be noted: (1) That the long New York canal is usually full of ice from December to the close of April; (2) That almost every summer the Ohio above the mouth of the Scioto, where the other canal begins, has too little water for steamboats, from the middle

of July into the latter part of autumn, often even to the latter part of December. To travel with other kinds of boats takes too much time—about forty days to get to the Mississippi. The ice on the Ohio rarely hinders for a longer time than from the latter part of December to the latter part of February. Even the lower part of the Ohio, that part below Louisville, is for weeks at a time in the autumn too shallow for steam boats. The autumn in all parts of North America is the best season for journeys by land. In regard to journeys by water inquiry must be made concerning the rise and fall of the rivers. In the spring time every navigable stream has plenty of water. The Mississippi and the Missouri are always deep enough for the largest boats, at least as far as the settlements extend at present. These facts should be well noted before the trip is undertaken.

"The inhabitants of the Rhine country will find in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Antwerp opportunity the whole year thru to sail for New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. For northern Germany Bremen and Hamburg would be more convenient. About the cost consult my letters. To cross the ocean quickly one must take one of the New York packet-boats from Liverpool or Havre de Grace. They usually cross in twenty to thirty days. From Liverpool the fare in a cabin is about one hundred and fifty dollars, which includes spirituous drinks and a bed. From Havre it is six hundred francs. However, the trip to these two ports is rather expensive for a German, especially if he has a lot of baggage, which also causes a great deal of difficulty with the revenue officers in England.

"The months of May and June are considered especially calm months on the ocean between Europe and North America. But at that time the winds east of Newfoundland are prevailingly from the west, whereby the trip from Europe is very much delayed. I should say that the month of April was the best time to depart. Then the Ohio would also be reached early enough.

"In order to go by way of New Orleans the departure should be made in December or January, so as to arrive at a

time when there is no danger of the yellow fever. The sea journey thither usually takes from six weeks to two months. From New Orleans steamboats go almost daily up the Mississippi. They reach St. Louis in nine or ten days. The fare to New Orleans is twice as much and sometimes more than to Philadelphia, Baltimore or New York. In future this will be different, but hitherto competition has not been keen enough. Via New Orleans the entire journey would cost at least two hundred and fifty dollars, by way of a seaport town on the Atlantic not much more than two hundred, assuming that the trip be made in a cabin. Otherwise half of this sum, or even less, would suffice. On steamboats one can choose either the first or second class passage. On sea-going vessels a person must be on his guard. If he is used to the air of small huts, he may find himself comfortable in the steerage. He, too, will not be oppressed by the subordination to the captain and the cabin passengers. If the ship is equipped chiefly for the transportation of passengers, then everything depends upon the number of passengers and the honesty of the captain. A ship of four hundred tons could easily take on board one hundred and sixty to two hundred passengers, and in its hold a large amount of goods. The full cargo of such a ship, going from a Dutch port to Baltimore or Philadelphia, seldom earns more than six thousand dollars. A company of two hundred persons would therefore not have to spend more than this amount to charter the ship. But instead of uniting and chartering the boat, emigrants sail singly, whereby the owner of the ship derives an exorbitant profit. The fact that passengers then pay double the necessary sum, for instance each one, one hundred and fifty Gulden, or two hundred passengers $1200.00, is by no means the worst of it. Occasionally four and five hundred, and sometimes indeed nine hundred passengers, are crowded together on one ship, and still each one has to pay just as much as if he were traveling alone in a cabin. Now, to be sure, the nuisance cf overloading has been stopped by law, since for every five tons of the ship's displacement only two persons may be taken on, hence for a ship of four hundred tons not more than one hundred and sixty persons. For the

rest, however, the agreement depends entirely upon the contracting parties. A company of emigrants will do well to make such a contract before they arrive at the port. To do this correctly there should be one member, at least, in the company who is familiar with this sort of business and has made other sea journeys. The following should be especially noted. For the passage money of a few passengers it is rarely possible to secure such arrangements in the steerage as the health of the voyagers demands. For many passengers in a party this can be done very well, but usually it is neglected, on account of lack of unity and of guidance, or the essential points of the contract are not definitely enough expressed. If the whole agreement is put into execution while the ship is still in the harbor, so that any passenger is able to judge concerning his prospective situation on the sea, before the departure, then many discomforts can be avoided.

"Those traveling by way of New Orleans ought to supply themselves with the following: Utensils for the household, farm implements and carpenter tools, taking two articles of each kind, but especially should they provide themselves with axes, weighing from five to six pounds, smaller hand axes, broad-axes for hewing the logs for buildings, wedges for splitting logs, large saws, six or seven feet long, hand saws, augers, planes, coffee mills, grist mills (so that the grain might be ground at home in case a mill should be too far away,) light wood stoves, together with very long stove-pipes (so that at the beginning a chimney may not be needed), hoes, spades, plow-shares, plow-chains, heavy chains for dragging tree trunks, copper kettles, iron bedsteads, tongs, gridirons, iron rods for hanging up kettles on the hearth, spinning wheels, and reels. Such things cost four and five times as much in the interior of America as at home. The idea of trade speculation must not be entertained on the first trip, for what is necessary for such undertakings must first be learned in the country itself. The iron implements should be supplied with a coat of paint to protect them against rust, and they should be carefully packed.

"The articles which the farmer brings for his own use are duty free. Otherwise the duty of iron ware is from twenty to twenty-five per cent. In case of new articles the revenue officers are sometimes inclined to doubt the statement that they are for personal use.

"Two long shotguns and good rifles are also not to be forgotten. Nor should a couple of saddles and bridles be left out.

"Those going by way of the Atlantic coast, will do better to buy all these articles, except the shotguns, in Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York. The difference in the prices is too small to compensate for the trouble and expense of transportation. Saddles are cheaper in Baltimore and Philadelphia than in Germany and Holland.

"Every one ought to provide himself in Germany with linens for several years' use, also with clothes made of woolen goods. The prices of the tailors are very high in America. If these provisions are not made in Germany, it will certainly be better to make such purchases on the Atlantic coast than in the interior. Let no one think that these conditions will change very soon. Those making such purchases on the coast must also see that the goods are carefully packed, and, if they go by water, they must be careful to insist that they are put on the same boat on which the company travels. If the shipping to the Mississippi is left in charge of the merchants, one may often wait half a year for the arrival of the goods. If the plan is adopted of letting the goods be shipped by other parties, care should be taken to have the articles insured, which is inexpensive.

"To make the journey as I did, that is by land, is combined with too many difficulties for the new-comer. It is best to use the mail coaches and the steamboats. Mail coaches now run all the way from the Atlantic coast to St. Louis on the Mississippi. In mail coaches forty pounds of baggage are transported free of charge. The rest ought to be sent ahead in order that it may be at the place where the journey by steamboat begins, by the time of one's arrival. For four or five hundred pounds of baggage no charge is made on steam-

boats. In general, freight is not very high in America. A seat in a mail coach from Philadelphia to Pittsburg costs about twenty dollars, from Baltimore to Wheeling about sixteen dollars (in 1824 it cost twenty-two dollars).

"As soon as the emigrant arrives at St. Louis, he may procure charts in the land offices, showing the government lands, and then undertake a few excursions. I would advise him to go up the Missouri at once, and in the country take board with some cleanly farmers. For the sum of one, one and a half, or two dollars per week he and his horse will be taken care of in the country. A horse he must have. He can buy it better from a farmer than in St. Louis. For thirty or forty dollars he can get a useful animal. Among the farmers the stranger has opportunity enough to become acquainted with his future work, all the same whether he wishes to buy a place already improved or will establish one himself. Only he must not be in too much of a hurry. He must learn to judge for himself, and be cautious about making use of the advice of others. In fact, he must follow more the example of the natives than their words. At my departure there were farms, containing one hundred or one hundred and twenty acres, good soil, of which twenty to thirty acres were fenced in and put under cultivation, having orchards, living huts and stables, all of which was offered for sale at $500.00. If on such a place a brick house should be erected, which also would cost about five hundred dollars, all the joys and comforts of country life could be enjoyed. It seems superfluous to warn against settling too far from navigable rivers. Such a choice would be unpardonable in a place where one is so unrestricted in his selection.

"Nothing deserves the attention of settlers more than the breeding of horses. A few good mares, the keeping of which costs almost nothing, yield more profit that the whole outlay amounts to. There is no lack of stallions of excellent breed. The English have imported them from the very beginning from the old world. This branch of industry must be taken into consideration in the very choice of location. Where all the

land is already in the hands of private owners, there is so much stock that the pasture of the forest is not sufficient.

"In spite of the promise which the manufacture of wine and rape-seed oil gives, they have not received the slightest attention, either in Missouri or in the adjoining states. As far as the wine is concerned, the vines have always been imported from warmer countries. The Britons do not understand wine culture and the children of other nations have not learned the art from their parents. I should think that the grapes from the Rhine country would prosper splendidly on the Missouri, but not in its dense forests. Not far from St. Charles there are extensive stretches where grape culture ought to do well.

"If a company of considerable size emigrates, the laying out of a little town can bring a great advantage, because the surroundings thereby at once rise in value.

"Several persons, going in company, could travel from the Atlantic coast in the manner of the Americans, as I have described in my letters. Their wagons must then not be too heavy. Light but strong wagons for two horses are the best. Horses are dearer on the coast than in the interior. In Ohio I found splendid draught and saddle horses at a low price. Wagons are cheaper in the seaboard towns. I should suggest that each family buy a light freight wagon and load it moderately, in order not to require too much horse power at the beginning of the journey. The greater part of the baggage and goods should be sent to Wheeling or Pittsburg by freighters, and after the purchase of stronger horses in Ohio the wagons could be loaded heavier. For plans of this kind Baltimore and Philadelphia are the starting points of the journey.

"The German who understands Latin or French learns the English language very quickly. There are very many Low Saxon words in the English which in their pronunciation sound just exactly as they are heard in the various regions of Westphalia and lower Saxony. The Latin language is the true emergency supply for the Englishman, from which he daily adopts new words. Some instruction in the language ought to be taken in Germany before the journey. Studying

on the ocean is agreeable to but few persons. Of course, the expressions dealing with the most ordinary needs of life should above all be learned. For a company of emigrants it is sufficient, if only a few of them understand English.

"The money can be taken along in the form of bank drafts, which can be had in all European seaports, or it can be taken in the form of English gold.

"(*b*) *For Merchants.*

"Hitherto I have spoken with special reference to the farmers. For artisans, mechanics, architects, technicists, chemists, and physicians I cannot add anything to the content of my letters, except that which I shall yet say for the benefit of merchants about commercial life in the interior of North America also concerns them in part.

"I have warned the farmers, by no means to go too fast in their investments, and at first rather to play the role of a spectator. I have tried to make it clear to them how different American agriculture is from the European, and especially from the German. The same cannot be said about trade. The difference of procedure of the American merchants is not so different from the German that the immigrating merchant could not adjust himself quickly to it. Nevertheless a short period of residence for orientation is necessary, and in so far my warning is also applicable to merchants. What really induces me to repeat this warning here, is the peculiar inclination on the part of merchants to violate such principles, especially right at the beginning. Almost in all of Germany it would seem foolish for one to travel into the interior of North America for the purpose of commerical speculation, without taking wares along from Europe. Sacrifices of time and money spent in preparation of future undertakings, the usefulness of which cannot at once be computed in figures, and cannot be made the object of definite calculation are not very inviting to persons, whose business life has accustomed them to see the fruits of their undertaking, in distinct outline, from the first moment that they consider the enterprise. What is more

natural than that the wish of combining with such preparations some form of business which would at last cover the expenses? And this wish is fostered in Germany by the belief, that in the interior of America great profit can only be made with European wares, if they are imported directly from Europe, and that even any chance importation from Europe must be profitable in the interior of America. How dangerous such supposition is will be seen by a depiction of American commercial life.

"Trade in the interior of North America is generally to be compared with the trade at fairs. Almost every merchant offers his wares for sale in an open shop. Almost no one in the interior devotes himself exclusively to wholesale business. All regard the disposition of their goods on a small scale as a safe basis of their business, and all merchants are storekeepers, with which business the other commercial enterprises are connected.

"Only in a country, where everybody is so much inclined to move, and where traveling costs so little, and every season has so many charms, can merchants confine themselves to such an easy way of disposing of their wares. Commercial travelers and peddlers facilitate the sale but little. On the contrary, most of the girls and women would very reluctantly forego the opportunity occasionally to ride to the stores of the cities, or even to the country stores, where there is usually a concourse of strangers. It must be remembered that all girls and women in the interior of the free states are ladies of ease, and must not expect to see the women from the country going to the markets to sell victuals, in the manner of the European peasant women. The American women appear only as purchasers, on horseback and clad in fashionable clothes. The sale of victuals and other wares is the business of men and of servants.

"The reader who keeps in mind the above named peculiarities of American commercial life will be aided to come to a clear conception by the following remarks: In Europe the idea is general, that the merchant, in the interior of America, is able to acquire a considerable amount of wealth only amid

great privation and with great perseverance, connected with all sorts of hardships and dangers. This view is entirely incorrect. The life of a merchant in the United States is, on the whole, attended by far less trouble, hardships and dangers than that of a merchant in France, Germany and the rest of Europe. The fact alone that the American does not have to leave his store to dispose of his wares leads one to surmise this. Concerning the idea of the dreaded wilderness I hope my letters are sufficiently explicit. From what is said there, it will also become clear, how foolish it is for the European, solely because he was reared in Europe, to think that he can reckon upon intellectual superiority in the western states. The European merchant, just as the farmer, will find himself there everywhere surrounded by persons, who are fairly able to compete with him, and from whom he, in the beginning, has to learn many things.

"The fact, that in spite of this, much property can be amassed easily is to be attributed solely to the great sphere of human activity. The characteristic features of this sphere I have developed in an earlier part of this work, and refer especially to letter thirty-one. Here I can only repeat that the natural condition of the country is the fundamental cause of this state of affairs. The natural wealth in the Mississippi country, which exceeds all conceptions, attracts the human energies to bring about its utilization, and thereby ruinous digressions into other branches of industry are prevented. None of these other industries are so far developed but what they have their foundation in the utilization of the soil, and this condition can, at the most, suffer only a passing change during the present century. The attraction of agriculture and stockraising is too great to let another line of business hold one's interest long, after it has once ceased to be profitable. Merchants, physicians, mechanics and artisans would all turn to agriculture without difficulty, as soon as the prospects of their various lines of business should appear less bright. Agriculture must therefore be regarded as the safest occupation, and this must be especially noted by those of other professions, who might undertake to emigrate from foreign lands, trusting

to good luck, and upon their arrival might find that for their particular line of work they had migrated at the wrong season. Let us assume, for instance, that many Europeans belonging to the same profession should emigrate at the same time. The loss of balance in the trades would act most surprisingly upon the unprepared immigrant, even tho his going over to agriculture might alleviate his suffering. Therefore, as I have said before, the attraction of agriculture keeps all the other occupations in their proper limits, and the mass of the people is wholly dependent upon the utilization of the soil. With a small amount of property not much can be done in a commercial way. The richer persons, however, are attracted not only by the prospect of gain, but also by the comforts of country life, and he who has once learned to know them, will be reluctant to give them up for a mere increase of his income which he does not need at all for his happiness.

"This tendency of the people to utilize the soil does not merely render to the merchant class the negative service of preventing destructive competition, but it gives to trade its real life.

"A person who contemplates making a settlement for the purpose of commercial undertakings, must not let himself be determined simply by the allurements of the present moment. Europeans who wish to open for themselves and their children a lasting sphere of activity in the interior states, must pay heed to more things than merely the conditions of the success of single speculations. Temporary prospects cannot induce the thoughtful person to emigrate into foreign parts of the world. If I, therefore, discuss the territory west of the Alleghany Mountains for the benefit of the merchants, it is my chief purpose, to induce the reader to judge concerning the permanent as well as the temporary peculiarities of this region.

"That which vouches most strongly for the sphere of the merchants over there, is undoubtedly the variety of natural productions within the great republic. The free states have such a great expanse thru various climates, that, in the event that the whole country should be cut off from the sea for a long time, in case of war, still the trade in the interior would keep

the merchants of the Mississippi country employed. Those persons who do not confuse the reality with the accounts of individual partisan writings, will not believe that a war between the states themselves, and a separation of the union is possible.

"In Europe one reads much about shipments of goods to foreign markets, which the planters undertake themselves, and in my letters mention is also made of this. This, however, must mislead no one to think that business of the merchant is dispensable here. Such undertakings usually take place only where merchants have not yet established themselves and are limited, almost entirely to shipments of grain and meats. The products of the small farms, to which class most of the farms here belong, hardly ever is so great but what the planter prefers to dispose of his produce in his own community. Where the population becomes larger, a market is soon established for all the products of the farm, and no one is more glad than the planter himself to leave to the merchants and speculators the shipping to distant places. Only in extraordinary cases of congestion of the market does he find it advantageous to see to the shipping himself. The greater the demand of his products is, the less will the planter allow himself to be diverted from the work of producing. In the central as well as in the northern states, where cereals constitute the basis of agriculture, most of the farmers dispose of their tobacco and cotton in their own neighborhood, even tho they ship their grain to foreign markets. The trade in wax, tallow, hides, furs, and minerals is always in the hands of merchants. The same is true of brandies, flour and many other things. The American does not sell directly to the consumer, unless he happens to have a store himself, the ordinary means of life, which are taken to the weekly market, excepted. If a person has something to sell he usually takes it to the storekeeper, who disposes of it for a commission, or buys it outright. Some farmers, for instance, make use of the bad weather, to make shoes, barrels or other things. All these things they take to the merchant to sell. This seems to them to be the most advantageous as also the most respectable way. It is but

self such a comfortable living by the cultivation of the soil. In the older states, where the land is less productive and at the same time higher in value, factories and manufacturing plants increase so rapidly because of the demand of their output by the people of the west.

"The great commercial activity, as also the activity of the trades, is due in the main to the ceaseless founding of new homesteads and the building of towns and cities. Since this activity is greatest in the Mississippi country, where the attractions for agricultural pursuits in an effective way prevent the crowding in of mercantile enterprises, this very west must offer more advantages to immigrating merchants than any other region. This is especially true of those merchants who go to the outskirts of civilization whither the flood of immigration tends. As long as the boundaries of civilization can be expanded, immigration will continue, and with it unique enlivening of trade. The vast unpeopled region is in the west. Only the shores of the Pacific form its boundary. Even when the ocean is reached, what rich reward will await one there, on a coast which is blessed with a mild climate, the shores indented by many bays and harbors, as we are told. Even now people of these states entertain the thought of founding a city at the mouth of the Columbia river, without awaiting the natural spreading of the population.

"From the above it is perfectly clear, that just as the European who contemplates the cultivation of the soil, so also the immigrating merchant has all occasion to go directly to the Mississippi country. The agriculturist selects there a tract of land which, without the least exertion on his part, increases to twenty times its original value in twenty years. This same immigration, which brings this about, produces also alluring new places for merchants,—not on account of the trade with the Indians, but on account of the trade with the immigrants themselves. Most of the latter have their attention fixed on the soil, and since they are well schooled in the treatment of the land, and derive great treasures from it without much difficulty, they do not hesitate to buy their imple-

ments and tools at the highest prices in the nearby stores. On this account a merchant can easily acquire great wealth here, if he buys in the sea-ports—Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York, and sells his stock of goods to the new settlers. The difference in price is astonishing, altho there are no tolls to pay and the transportation is cheap and rapid. Saddles, for instance, which in those sea-port towns are to be had for five dollars, cost from twelve to fourteen dollars in St. Louis, and in the towns along the Missouri from sixteen to twenty dollars. There is no other explanation for this than the fact that every human endeavor finds its high reward in these regions, and that this fact is founded upon the conditions afforded by an abundance of fertile soil, the greatest possible freedom of all trades, unhampered by legal restrictions, and finally the absence of all prejudice in regard to rank. It is for this reason that I wish to emphasize once more that it is wrong to think, that in order to carry on a productive trade in America, European wares must be imported directly from Europe. They are not at all suited to the trade in the Mississippi country. In the sea-port towns on the Atlantic the European wares are not much more expensive than in Europe itself. In any event, the difference is not so great, that the merchant beyond the Alleghany Mountains could be enticed to deviate from the customary American procedure. Here it is the custom of merchants to go to New York, Philadelphia or Baltimore once or twice each year, leaving a clerk to look after the business at home, and to make the necessary purchases and see to their rapid transportation to their destination. However, even now, extensive purchases of hardware are made in the factories at Pittsburg.

"When a merchant has once established his business in a new settlement, he will by no means find it necessary, later on, to migrate farther with the onrushing population. He will have established so many business connections, that he can well afford to let the newcomer in business seek the frontier, which affords opportunities to which nothing in the old world can be compared. Tho a change of residence could be made rather easily, nevertheless a fixed abode offers many advan-

tages. In the cities the newcomer can rent a house, in the country he can erect new ones with little expense, which, for the time being, satisfy his requirements completely. The fluctuation of prices on the sea-board has no appreciable influence on the security of the merchant in the interior.

"To go farther into detail and mention the price of individual wares, is useless. Of what advantage would it be, for instance, if I should mention that a common ax, weighing five pounds, which in Germany costs about twenty-five cents, costs sixty cents in Baltimore and in St. Louis two or three times as much? In the matter of sale not only the quality, which, by the way the American purchaser is very capable of judging, but also the form and shape of the article must be taken into consideration, so that no one ought to make shipment of articles without being duly informed. In America the merchant learns quickly what is saleable there, while away from there he learns it only by accident. Above all must one know what articles are made in the households themselves. It would, for instance, be a great mistake to introduce coarse woolen shawls into the interior, unless they should happen to have a finish which could not be provided in the household themselves. Moreover, it must be remembered that only the opening of a regular store gives reason to expect gain, and the person who is not prepared to do so should, by all means, avoid burdening himself with a large supply of wares. A period of residence in the country, to become orientated, is for every European the essential requirement before he makes his further plans. By no means must the merchant think that information gained on the sea-board can take the place of the experience obtained by residence. I was able to tell my friends on the Atlantic coast almost as many new things about the interior of America beyond the Alleghanies, as I could tell my friends in Germany. The merchants on the coast find all they can do in business there, and the Mississippi country is too far away to make trips there because of mere curiosity. It can not be expected that the merchants in the western states should themselves announce their situation to the world. If one wishes to know it he must visit them and he will not be

received with jealousy. The circle of activity is too great for envy to find room.—The language can be learned on the journey itself.—In all the cities here room and board can be had for four or five dollars per week. In the country this costs half as much, but there one is rarely satisfied with the lodging, tho the rest does not give much cause for complaint. I have repeatedly told how comfortable and quickly one can travel in the interior of America. The dangers of sickness before mentioned do not apply to the merchant. For him there is, in this respect, less to be feared here than in Europe. The coast cities of Carolina, Georgia and along the Gulf of Mexico are unimportant for him; morever, he needs only to avoid them during the months of May to the middle of October.—After a residence of a few weeks to two months in the cities of Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New York, his undertaking should be begun. There he can try, for the time being, to gather information about the goods which find sale in the west. The fixed resolve of the merchant must be, at the beginning at least, to imitate the American merchant. Let him put aside all schemes formed abroad in order to examine conditions so much more impartially. He will find a sphere of activity for which he does not need European plans. Nothing will more impede his purpose of evaluating the reality correctly, than the current European conception that the North American is far behind in the matter of progress. Even if the conceit of some ignorant American should induce the immigrant to think this, he should refrain from giving such a thought the reins. It hinders calm judgment all too much. Every reasonably informed European, who comes with some capital to the Ohio, the Misisssippi, or the Missouri, and is not afraid of regular employment, will find, with some perseverence, an enticing sphere of activity, and a merchant who does not expect to find all his hopes fulfilled during the first year, need only stay till he has acquainted himself with his new surroundings to make a success. This can not be done, however, by simply traveling thru the country. He must stay at least six months passively among the Americans. He may have his own reasons which determine him to go back to Europe with-

out deriving any business advantage from his journey. That depends upon his special circumstances. However, in so far as he attributes the fault to the new country, in so far may he show by his deportment in the Fatherland, that it was not his own fault, that the new world did not please him.

"A natural inclination of the emigrant is this, to keep, so to speak, one foot in the Fatherland, while visiting a foreign land. The love of the home-country explains this sufficiently. However, excepting a few instances only, this tendency can be given way to only with serious loss. As a rule it will be well for every emigrant to make up his mind to forego his Fatherland for the first ten years, and seriously fix his mind upon the resolve to make America his home. This will be the basis upon which many an advantageous undertaking will rest.—Parents of large families in Germany have every reason, for the well-being of their children, to spend some money in investigating foreign countries. For them it would be advantageous, even tho they did not plan immediate immigration, simply looking to the future, to send a member of their family to the Mississippi country to visit this region, and to reside there an appropriate length of time."

THE END.

* * * * *

THE FRUITS OF THIS WORK.

There is no doubt as to the effect which Duden's book had upon German emigration. Unfortunately, however, many readers did not read the work carefully enough, taking cognizance of the unpleasant as well as the pleasant side of life in America. Consequently there were many who were sorely disappointed upon their arrival in Missouri. Instead of seeking the cause of their failure in themselves, they blamed Duden. Their utterances soon appeared in public print, where the veracity of the author of the "Report" was viciously attacked. It was in his own defense that Duden in 1837 published his "Self-Accusation because of his American Report of Travel, as a Warning against further indiscrete Emigration."

Bitterly he says that he had intended his work to be read by intelligent beings. Since he has failed in this expectation, he regrets that he did not write in hieroglyphics, so that only a few wise men and not the common herd might be able to decipher his story. In spite of his explicit warning men had gone into voluntary bondage as redemptionists, others had disregarded his earnest plea that no one should go without a certain amount capital, still others had gone as day laborers, some had stopped east of the Alleghanies instead of going farther west, his statement that agriculture was the only safe basis of existence in America had been taken too lightly by others, and so they had squandered their money. The warning not to go by way of New Orleans during the summer months was disregarded, and the consequence was that the cholera took its toll of immigrants. His idea about forming emigration societies was misunderstood, so that such organizations were formed but not adequate provision was made of financing such schemes. After reiterating the warnings set forth in his letters Duden finally says that the only absolutely certain antidote against death in a foreign land is to remain in one's home country.

Speaking of the failure of reading Duden's book carefully, or not reading it at all Gert Goebel writes:* "I have known German emigrants who were so carried away by the reading of Duden's book that they would not think of taking along their feather beds. They said that it was nonsense to bother with feather beds when they were going to a Sicilian climate. Fortunately the attachment, which the women have for such articles, triumphed over the delusion of the men, for in a short time the gentler sex had cause to rejoice because of their apparent naivete."

Before Duden published his book, *Europa und Deutschland*, there appeared the account of the first journey to North America by Prince Paul Wilhelm of Wuertemburg. This account was published by the Cotta publishing concern in 1835. The visit had been made in the years 1822 to 1824. This book by His Highness the

* Gert Goebel: *Laenger als ein Menschenleben in Missouri*, p. 7.

Prince confirmed and substantiated in its own way the observations which Duden had made. Rejoiced at the vindication of his good name and the corroboration of his statement Duden hastened to add a supplement to his book on Europe and Germany in which he shows how his and the Prince's accounts agree. This supplement was also printed separately under the title: *Einige Blaetter des Werkes: Europa und Deutschland von Gottfried Duden, fuer die Besitzer von dessen Amerikanischem Reisebericht, Bonn, 1835.*

Another author whom Duden cites in his defense is one Timothy Flint who had written rather extensively concerning the Mississippi country.

Three publications that dealt most harshly with Duden's "Report" are mentioned in the documents which he wrote in his defense. The first is by J. H. Rausze, *Reisescenen aus zwei Welten nebst einer Behandlung der Zustaende in den West-Staaten der Union*, Guestrow, 1836. The second is by Gustav Koerner, *Beleuchtung des Deutschen Berichtes*, Frankfurt am Main, 1834. Finally there remains to be mentioned a periodical entitled *Amerikanisches Magazin*, published by the Hammer publishing company, Altona and Leipzig, 1835.

Thoroughly wearied and sick at heart because of the defense he felt called upon to make in his own behalf, when he in reality had intended to do his countrymen a great service, he said: "Truly, I am often reminded of Harvey, the famous discoverer of the circulation of the blood, who regretted to his end that he had ever communicated his thoughts to the world, on account of the ceaseless attacks that were made upon him."

IN MEMORIAM.

Judge John F. Philips.

As God is my witness, I have tried so hard to do right.—Judge Philips.

By Floyd C. Shoemaker.

Fifty years ago a young man stepped into a little law office in a central Missouri town and presented to the firm a letter of introduction. He was a stranger far from his native heath, seeking a home and a living. He was lame, only twenty-four years old, battle-scarred from fighting under the banner of the Southland, and his very face pleaded help and encouragement. Moneyless and friendless, he had only his spirit, education and ability with which to win his way before the world. The two members of the firm were already prominent in public life. One had battled under the Stars and Stripes, the other under the Stars and Bars. A sympathy and understanding made them friends of the stranger. He was helped and placed in a neighboring law office. He later served on the Supreme Bench of Missouri for twenty years. His name was James B. Gantt. His start in life was given him by two of the ablest and best men that have adorned public life in the State—John F. Philips and Geo. C. Vest.

Typical of the man was this act of friendship by the late Judge JohnF. Philips. To him the art of friendship, with its complementary arts of conversation and sociability, was second only to love of Country and Constitution. No man of Missouri birth and rearing ever wore the robes of both the State and Federal Judiciary who had more friends than this son of old Boone County, this alumnus of the University of Missouri. He vivified the poet's verse, that friendship "is the only Rose without a thorn." He was of the "Old School" of gentlemen and scholars. As Rufus Choate said

JUDGE JOHN FINIS PHILIPS.

(Courtesy of Hon. N. T. Gentry, from his work, "The Bench and Bar of Boone County.")

he was "a thing most rare, a reasonable, learned, modest man."

Born in Boone County, Missouri, on December 31, 1834, John Finis Philips came of that pioneer stock that marked the dividing line between pretentious aristocracy and common mediocrity. His parents were a devout and sturdy people, and inculcated these happy qualities in their son. He grew up a country lad, virile in health and industrious in habits. His mother believed in education and sent her children to the best public and private schools. Young John F., attended the University of Missouri in 1851-3 and graduated at Centre College, Kentucky, in 1855. On returning to his native State, he read law at his home and later studied under that eminent lawyer and public man, General John B. Clark, of Fayette. In 1857 he was admitted to the bar and began the practice of law at Georgetown, at that time the county seat of Pettis county. His college sweetheart, Miss Fleecie Batterton, of Danville, Ky., united her fortunes with the struggling young lawyer and their happy wedded life was blessed with two children.

The ability of the man was soon recognized by the public and his law practice grew. The first political preferment came to him, however, through his power as an orator. Judge Philips was elected a Union delegate from his district to the State Convention of '61. Altho barely twenty-six years of age, one of the youngest of that body of eminent Missourians, he attracted the attention of all. Governor Gamble authorized him to recruit the Seventh Missouri Cavalry and the young lawyer did such effective service that he later won from Gov. Willard P. Hall the nomination of brigadier general.

At the close of the war he located at Sedalia where he formed a law partnership with Judge Russell Hicks and George G. Vest. Hicks soon retired and the famous firm of "Philips and Vest" remained to cast the glory of its name over all Central and Western Missouri. In 1868 Philips was elected a delegate to the National Democratic Convention that nominated Seymour and Blair. In the same year he

ran for Congress and was defeated. Six years later, 1874, he was elected to the 44th Congress and again to the 46th Congress. While in the National legislature he served on important committees and by special appointment on several commissions.

After his Congressional term he located in Kansas City. In 1883 he served as a commissioner of the Supreme Court of Missouri and in 1885 became one of the judges of the Kansas City Court of Appeals. His elevation to the Federal Judiciary came in 1888 on his appointment to the United States District Court. By virtue of his age, he retired from the Federal Bench in 1910 after twenty-two years of service. His career as a judge, State and Federal, covered twenty-seven years. He could truthfully say he had been "cribb'd, cabin'd, confin'd" on the bench. At the patriarchal age of over eighty-four years, he died at the home of Col. S. W. Fordyce, near Hot Springs, Arkansas, on March 13, 1919.

As a lawyer, Judge John F. Philips was eminent. He was the last of "The Big Four." Fifty years ago Missourians spoke of "The Big Four" with that solemn respect granted only to leaders of men. Hardly an important lawsuit was tried in Central Missouri in those days that was not pressed or defended by one of "The Big Four." They were giants before the public in legal acumen. Not since the days of Abiel Leonard and Alexander W. Doniphan had Central Missouri produced four such men so closely associated in popular concept. And they were justly closely associated. The Sedalia firm of Philips and Vest and the Warrensburg firm of Crittenden and Cockrell, were linked together by the ties of friendship and religion, by the trials of war and by that mutual respect for ability always accorded by one gentleman to another. All four were Presbyterians:—Philips, Vest Crittenden, Old School; Cockrell, Cumberland. Politically all were Democrats after the war, altho three had been Whigs before. On the battlefield, Vest and Cockrell had struggled for the South. Philips and Crittenden for the North. All had received college educations, Cockrell having had, perhaps, the poorest advantages. All had had able

preceptors in their study of the law,—Philips under General Clark, of Missouri; Vest under Judge Harlan, of Kentucky; Crittenden under Senator Crittenden, of Kentucky, and Cockrell under Judge Silliman, of Missouri. In public life, all were remarkably successful,—Cockrell representing his State in the United States Senate for thirty years, the first Missourian to duplicate the career of the great Benton; Vest lacked but one term of equalling Cockrell's record; Philips serving on the State and Federal Bench for twenty-seven years; and Crittenden representing his district in Congress for four years, serving his State as Governor one term, and his Nation as Minister to Mexico. All were eminent men and as orators excelled. Vest was perhaps the ablest in political speaking; he was "Missouri's Little Giant," and his irresistible and overwhelming eloquence has not been surpassed in recent Missouri history and perhaps equalled only by that great Missouri master of eloquence, James S. Green. Crittenden was the Chesterfield politician of the group. His suave manners and polished sentences were in striking contrast to the volcanic utterances of Vest. But very powerful and convincing he was. Cockrell was the poorest speaker of all. What he lacked in polish, however, he more than made up for in sincerity, honesty and perseverance. Missouri has had no statesman who commanded greater respect at home and in Congress for fearless courage and absolute honesty than Francis Marion Cockrell. In the United States Senate Missouri has sent only one other man who was so unanimously beloved by partisan friend and political opponent alike,—the great Lewis F. Linn, "The Model Senator from Missouri." Philips combined many of the qualities of the other three. He could be as sarcastic as Vest, he was always as polished and cultured as Crittenden, and his honesty and sincerity was beyond question. As the late Judge Henry Clay McDougal said, "None other has lambasted me personally as Philips has; yet it was only his way, and he has never perpetrated or permitted a wrong. As his neighbor and friend, I know that he is both warm-hearted and even generous, as well as most just always."

His training and profession gave him a judicial mind. He revered the past. As old age crept closer, this loyalty for the things that had stood the test of time grew. Like Lord Coke he believed that "Out of the *old* fields cometh the new corn." He worshipped at the shrine of the "Fathers." The Federal Constitution was second only to the Bible and "must be obeyed." His duty in life was to help interpret that great organic law. His ability as a judge is evidenced in his having been seldom reversed and in his sitting by invitation on special cases in other districts. In the lower courts alone he rendered four hundred and thirty-seven opinions.

Equalling if not exceeding his fame as a judge and as a lawyer, was his popularity as an orator and after-dinner speaker. His addresses were masterpieces. Filled with the wit and wisdom garnered from the lips of great men and the literature of the ages, his speeches were classic gems. Even in cold black type they grip the reader. But to those who heard this polished scholar, his declamations were things of fire and life. They sparkled with the humor of humanity, they played with the music of man and birds, they deftly twanged the strings of the heart, and they boldly pictured the ideals of the race. They rose highest when vivifying the life of the olden times— the "Golden Age"—of the pioneer— the days when moral courage and physical sturdiness were necessary for survival.

In a broad sense Judge Philips was a scholarly man without the impracticability of the mere schoolman. He had the saving grace of common sense. Three educational institutions,—the University of Missouri, Centre College (Ky.), and Central College (Mo.)—honored him with the degree of doctor of laws. For nearly two decades Judge Philips had been a member of the executive committee of the State Historical Society of Missouri and during those years contributed a number of valuable historical paper to the *Missouri Historical Review*. As a jurist, scholar, nobleman and friend, this Templar Knight will live. To his first love in education, the University of Missouri, he cherished the most sacred respect and her Alumni and all Missourians will ever honor him.

EARLY DAYS ON GRAND RIVER AND THE MORMON WAR.

ROLLIN J. BRITTON.

SECOND ARTICLE.

THE MORMONS EXPELLED FROM CARROLL COUNTY.

The lull of hostilities in Daviess county was followed by an outbreak in Carroll county at DeWitt from whence the following petition issued:

"DeWitt, Carroll County, State of Missouri,
September 22, 1838.

To His Excellency, Lilburn W. Boggs, Governor of the State of Missouri:

"Your petitioners, citizens of the County of Carroll, do hereby petition your Excellency, praying for relief; That whereas, your petitioners have on the 20th inst. been sorely aggrieved by being beset by a lawless mob of certain inhabitants of this and other counties, to the injury of the good citizens of this and adjacent places; that on the aforesaid day came from one hundred to one hundred and fifty armed men, and threatened with force and violence to drive certain peaceable citizens from their homes in defiance of all law, and threatened then to drive said citizens out of the county, but on deliberation concluded to give them, said citizens, till the first of October next to leave said county; and threatened if not gone by that time, to exterminate them, without regard to age or sex, and destroy their chattels by throwing them in the river.

"We therefore pray you to take such steps as shall put a stop to all lawless proceeding, and we, your petitioners, will ever pray, etc."

This petition was signed by Benj. Kendrick and forty-nine others, one of whom signed his name "D. Thomas" and then after his name wrote the words (no Mormon).

On October 2nd, General Parks sent the following letter to General Atchison:

"Dear Sir: I received this morning an affidavit from Carroll County the following is a copy:

'Henry Root on his oath states that on the night of the first of October there was collected in the vicinity of DeWitt an armed force, consisting of from thirty to fifty persons and on the morning of the second of October came into the town of DeWitt and fired on the civil inhabitants of that place. Thirteen of said individuals were seen by me in that place, and I believe there is actually an insurrection in that place.

HENRY ROOT.

Subscribed and sworn to this 3rd day of October, 1838.

WILLIAM B. MORTON, J. P.'

"In consequence of which information and belief of an attack being made on said place, I have ordered out the two companies raised by your order, to be held in readiness under the commands of Captains Bogart and Houston, to march for DeWitt, in Carroll County, by eight o'clock tomorrow morning, armed and equipped as the law directs, with six days' provisions and fifty rounds of powder and ball. I will proceed with these troops in person, leaving Colonel Thompson in command on Grand River. As soon as I reach DeWitt I will advise you of the state of affairs more fully. I will use all due precautions in the affair, and deeply regret the necessity of the recourse.

H. G. PARKS,
Brigadier General 2nd Brigade, 3rd Division."

General Lucas wrote a letter to Governor Boggs at this time as follows:

"Boonville, Missouri, October 4, 1838.

Dear Sir:

As we passed down the Missouri River on Monday last, we saw a large force of Mormons at DeWitt, in Carroll County, under arms. Their commander Colonel Hinkle, formerly of Carroll County, informed me that there were two hundred, and that they were hourly expecting an attack from the citizens of Carroll County, who, he said were then encamped only six miles from there, waiting for a reinforcement from Saline County. Hinkle said they had determined to fight. News had just been received at the place, through Dr. Scott, of Fayette, that a fight took place on yesterday, and that several persons were killed. Dr. Scott informed me that he got his information from a gentleman of respectability, who had heard the firing of their guns as he passed down. If a fight has actually taken place, of which I have no doubt, it will create excitement in the whole of upper Mis-

souri, and those base and degraded beings will be exterminated from the face of the earth. If one of the citizens of Carroll should be killed, before five days I believe that there will be from four to five thousand volunteers in the field against the Mormons, and nothing but their blood will satisfy them. It is an unpleasant state of affairs. The remedy I do not pretend to suggest to your Excellency. My troops of the fourth division were only dismissed, subject to further orders, and can be called into the field at an hour's warning.

SAMUAL D. LUCAS."

General Parks arrived at DeWitt on the 6th of October and immediately sent the following letter to General Atchison:

"Sir: Immediately after my express to you by Mr. Warder was sent, I proceeded to this place, which I reached yesterday, with two companies of mounted men from Ray. I ordered Colonel Jones to call out three companies, from this county to hold themselves in readiness to join me at Carrollton on the 5th instant, which order has not been carried into effect. None of Carroll regiment is with me.

"On arriving in the vicinity of DeWitt I found a body of armed men under command of Dr. Austin, encamped near DeWitt, beseiging that place, to the number of two or three hundred, with a piece of artillery ready to attack the town of DeWitt. On the other side Hinkle has in that place three or four hundred Mormons to defend it, and says he will die before he is driven from thence.

"On the 4th instant they had a skirmish—fifteen or thirty guns fired on both sides, one man from Saline wounded in the hip.

"The Mormons are at this time too strong, and no attack is expected before Wednesday or Thursday next, at which time Dr. Austin hopes his forces will amount to five hundred men, when he will make a second attempt on the town of DeWitt, with small arms and cannon. In this posture of affairs, I can do nothing but negotiate between the parties until further aid is sent me.

"I received your friendly letter on the 5th inst., by Mr. Wardon, authorizing me to call on General Doniphan, which call I have made on him for five companies from Platte, Clay and Clinton, with two companies I ordered from Livingston, of which I doubt whether these last will come. If they do, I think I will have a force sufficient to manage these billigerents.

"Should these troops arrive here in time, I hope to be able to prevent bloodshed. Nothing seems so much in demand here (to hear the Carrol County men talk) as Morman scalps; as yet they are scarce. I believe Hinkle with the present force and position will beat Austin with five hundred of his troops. The Mormons

say they will die before they will be driven out, etc. As yet they have acted on the defensive as far as I can learn. It is my settled opinion the Mormons will have no rest until they leave; whether they will or not, time only can tell.

H. C. PARKS."

The besieging force was augmented by the arrival of bodies of armed men from Ray, Saline, Howard, Livingston, Clinton, Clay and Platte counties, and Congrieve Jackson from Howard county was chosen by them as commander in chief.

The Saints were forbidden to leave DeWitt under pain of death and were shot at whenever they were seen.

The supply of food in DeWitt was soon exhausted and in the meantime Henry Root and David Thomas worked out a settlement. Thomas advised the Mormons that they would be permitted to leave the town and not be hurt and that their property would be appraised and paid for.

Joseph Smith, Jr., had arrived in DeWitt prior to this, and he with the resident Mormons conceded this was the best settlement that could be made. Appraisers came in and appraised the real estate, but it is not probable that anything was every paid to the Mormons for any of their property. The most of the personal property of the Mormons, including much of their live stock, had already been taken possession of by the Missourians and they never returned any of it.

About seventy wagons were gathered together, and loaded with such remnants of their property as could be found, and the Mormons then started from DeWitt on the afternoon of Thursday, October 11, 1838, bound for Caldwell county. They traveled about twelve miles that day and encamped in a grove of timber near the road. That night a woman, weakened by childbirth and exposure, died in their camp and was buried in the grove without a coffin. Far West was reached the next day.

At Far West on the morning of October 15, the Mormons assembled on the public square and formed a company of about one hundred men. This company was placed under the com-

mand of Lieutenant Colonel Hinkle, a Mormon, who held a commission in the Missouri State Militia, and who acted, we are told, under the order of General Doniphan.

Mormon Troubles in Daviess County.

This company started at once for the protection of Adam-ondi-Ahman, and Joseph Smith, Jr., went along, and he states that many depredations, such as driving off horses, sheep, cattle and hogs belonging to his brethren took place at this time.

Major Joseph H. McGee tells us in his memoirs, "that on the morning of October 18, 1838, one hundred and fifty Mormons came to Gallatin and finding but seventeen men in the place they run them out and took possession of the town. They removed the goods out of Stolling's Store house and burned the house. They then took the goods to Di-Ammon. They burned my tailor shop after taking all there was in it, leaving me only the suit of clothes I had on my back. They took me prisoner and after keeping me about two hours they turned me loose and told me to 'get.' My father was living about three miles south of where Winston now is and the road we traveled then made it about fifteen miles from Gallatin. The snow on the ground was about six inches deep. When they turned me loose and told me to go, I made tracks for home, reaching there late in the evening. Not knowing at what time we would be visited by the Mormons, father boxed all our feather beds and table ware and hid them out in the woods. There they remained until the war was over. We could stand in our door yard and see houses burning every night for over two weeks. The Mormons completely gutted Daviess county. There was scarcely a Missourian's house left standing in the county. Nearly every one was burned. Their flight from the county had been so precipitate that they left all they had behind, taking only their families and teams. The Mormons secured all their property and took it to De Ammon and there placed it in what was termed the Lord's Store house, to be issued out to Saints as they might need."

It was during this period of trouble that General Parks arrived in Daviess county and went at once to the house of Lyman Wight in Adam-ondi-Ahman, arriving there on the 18th. On this date, Joseph Smith, Jr., tells us intelligence was brought in that the mob (he always designated the opposition as "the mob") was burning houses, and that the women and children were fleeing to town for safety, among these being Agnes M. Smith, wife of Don Carlos Smith (a brother of Joseph's), who was absent on a mission in Tennessee, her house having been plundered and burned by the mob, she having traveled three miles carrying her two helpless babes, and having had to wade Grand River.

Continuing in the language of Joseph Smith, Jr.:

"Colonel Wight, who held a commission in the 59th Regiment under his (General Parks) command, asked what was to be done. He told him that he must immediately call out his men and go and put them down. Accordingly a force was immediately raised for the purpose of quelling the mob, and in a short time was on its march with a determination to drive the mob or die in the attempt; as they could bear such treatment no longer.

"The mob having learned the order of General Parks, and likewise being aware of the determination of the oppressed, broke up their encampment and fled. The mob seeing that they could not succeed by force now resorted to stratagem; and after removing their property out of their houses, which were nothing but log cabins, they fired them, and then reported to the authorities of the State that the Mormons were burning and destroying all before them.

"On Wednesday, October 24, 1838, Captain Bogart with some thirty or forty men called on Brother Thoret Parsons, where he lived at the head of the East branch of Log Creek and warned him to be gone before next day at ten in the morning, declaring also that he would give Far West thunder and lightning before next day at noon if he had good luck in meeting Neil Gillium, who would camp about six miles west of Far West that night, and that he should camp on Crooked Creek, and departed towards Crooked Creek.

"Brother Parsons dispatched a messenger with this news to Far West, and followed after Bogart to watch his movements. Brother Joseph Holbrook and ———— Judith, who went out this morning to watch the movements of the enemy, saw eight armed mobbers call at the house of Brother Pinkham, where they

took three prisoners (Nathan Pinkham, Brothers William Seely and Addison Green) and four horses, arms, etc., and departed threatening Father Pinkham if he did not leave the State immediately they would have his damned old scalp; and having learned of Bogart's movements returned to Far West near midnight and reported their proceedings and those of the mob.

"On hearing the report, Judge Higbee, the first Judge of the County, ordered Lieutenant Colonel Hinkle, the highest officer in command in Far West, to send out a company to disperse the mob and retake their prisoners, whom it was reported, they intended to murder that night. The trumpet sounded and the brethren were assembled on the public square about midnight, when the facts were stated and about seventy-five volunteered to obey the Judge's order, under command of David W. Patten, who immediately commenced their march on horseback, hoping to surprise and scatter the camp, retake the prisoners and prevent the attack threatened upon Far West without the loss of blood.

"Thursday, 25th, fifteen of the company were detached from the main body, while sixty continued their march until they arrived near the ford of Crooked River (or Creek) where they dismounted, tied their horses, and leaving four or five men to guard them, proceeded towards the ford not knowing the location of the encampment. It was just at the dawning of light in the East when they were marching quietly along the road, and near the top of the hill, which descends to the river, when the report of a gun was heard, and young O'Banion reeled out of the ranks and fell mortally wounded. Thus the work of death commenced, when Captain Patten ordered a charge and rushed down the hill on a fast trot, and when within about fifty yards of the camp formed a line. The mob formed a line under the bank of the river, below their tents. It was yet so dark that little could be seen by looking at the West, while the mob, looking towards the dawning light, could see Patten and his men, when they fired a broadside, and three or four of the brethren fell. Captain Patten ordered the fire returned, which was instantly obeyed, to great disadvantage in the darkness, which yet continued. The fire was repeated by the mob, and returned by Captain Patten's company, and gave the watchword, 'God and Liberty' when Captain Patten ordered a charge, which was instantly obeyed. The parties immediately came in contact with their swords, and the mob were soon put to flight, crossing the river at the ford and such places as they could get a chance. In the pursuit one of the mob fled behind a tree, wheeled, and shot Captain Patten, who instantly fell mortally wounded, having received a large ball in his bowels. The ground was soon cleared, and the brethren gathered up a wagon or two and making beds therein of tents, etc., took their wounded and

retreated towards Far West. Three brethren were wounded in the bowels, one in the neck, one in the shoulder, one through the hips, and one through both thighs, one the arms, all by musket shot. One had his arm broken by a sword.

"Brother Gideon Carter was shot in the head and left dead on the ground, so defaced that the brethren did not known him. Bogart reported that he had lost one man. The three prisoners were released and returned with the brethren to Far West. Captain Patten was carried some of the way in a litter, but it caused so much distress he beged to be left, and was carried into Brother Winchester's, three miles from the city, where he died that night. O'Banion died soon after, and Brother Carter's body was also brought from Crooked River, when it was discovered who he was.

"I went with my Brother Hyrum and Amasa Lyman to meet the brethren on their return, near Log Creek, where I saw Captain Patten in a most distressing condition. His wound was incurable.

"Brother David W. Patten was a very worthy man, beloved by all good men who knew him. He was one of the twelve Apostles, and died as he lived, a man of God and strong in the faith of a glorious resurrection in a world where mobs will have no power or place. One of his last expressions to his wife was, 'Whatever you do Else, O, do not deny the faith.'

"How different his faith from that of the Apostate, Thomas B. Marsh, who this day vented all the lying spleen and malice of his heart toward the work of God, in a letter to Brother and Sister Abbot, to which was annexed an addenda by Orson Hyde." (*Millenial Star*, Vol. 16, pp. 395, 405, 408.)

On October the 26th, 1838, the following order was issued by Governor Boggs:

"Friday, Headquarters of the Militia,
City of Jefferson. October 26, 1838.

General John B. Clark,
1st Division, Missouri Militia.

Sir:

Application has been made to the Commander in Chief, by the citizens of Daviess County, in this state, for protection, and to be restored to their homes and property, with intelligence that the Mormons with an armed force have expelled the inhabitants of that county from their homes, have pillaged and burn their dwellings, driven off their stock, and were destroying their crops; that they (the Mormons) have burnt to ashes the towns of Gallatin and Millport in said county; the former being the county seat of said county, and including the clerk's office and all the public records of the county, and that there is not now a civil officer within said

county. The Commander in Chief therefore orders, that there be raised, from the 1st, 4th, 5th, 6th and 12th Divisions of the Militia of this State, four hundred men each, to be mounted and armed as infantry or riflemen, each man to furnish himself with at least fifty rounds of ammunition and at least fifteen days' provisions. The troops from the 1st, 5th, 6th and 12th will rendezvous at Fayette, in Howard County, on Saturday, the 3rd day of next month (November), at which point they will receive further instructions as to their line of march.

You will therefore cause to be raised the quota of men required of your division (four hundred men) without delay, either by volunteer or drafts, and rendezvous, at Fayette, in Howard County on Saturday, the 3rd day of next month (November), and there join the troops from the 5th, 6th and 12th divisions. The troops from the 4th division will join you at Richmond, in Ray County. You will cause the troops raised in your division to be formed into companies, according to law, and proceed under officers already in commission. If volunteer companies are raised they shall elect their own officers. The preference should always be given to volunteer companies already organized and commissioned. You will also detail the necessary field and staff officers. For the convenience of transporting the camp equipage, provisions and hospital stores for the troops under your command you are authorized to employ two or three baggage wagons.

By order of the Commander in Chief,

B. M. LISLE, Adj. General."

—(*Millenial Star*, Vol. 16, p. 445.)

THE EXTERMINATING ORDER.

On the following day the famous "Exterminating Order" was issued, which is as follows:

Headquarters Militia, City of Jefferson,

October 27, 1838.

Sir:

Since the order of the morning to you, directing you to cause four hundred mounted men to be raised within your division, I have received by Amos Reese, Esq., and Wiley E. Williams, Esq., one of my aids, information of the most appalling character, which changes the whole face of things, and places the Mormons in the attitude of open and avowed defiance of the laws and of having made open war upon the people of this State. Your orders are therefore, to hasten your operations and endeavor to reach Richmond, in Ray County, with all possible speed. The Mor-

mons must be treated as enemies, and *must be exterminated*, or driven from the State, if necessary, for the public good. Their outrages are beyond all description. If you can increase your force you are authorized to do so, to any extent you may think necessary. I have just issued orders to Major General Wallock, of Monroe County, to raise five hundred men and to march them to the northern part of Daviess and there to unite with General Doniphan, of Clay, who has been ordered with five hundred men to proceed to the same point, for the purpose of intercepting the retreat of the Mormons to the north. They have been directed to communicate with you by express. You can also communicate with them if you find it necessary. Instead, therefore, of proceeding, as at first directed, to reinstate the citizens of Daviess in their homes, you will proceed immediately to Richmond, and there operate against the Mormons. Brigadier General Parks, of Ray, has been ordered to have four hundred men of his brigade in readiness to join you at Richmond. The whole force will be placed under your command.

L. W. Boggs,
Governor and Commander in Chief.

To General Clark.

—(*Millenialt Sar*, Vol. 16, p. 446.)

The author of the *History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties, Missouri* (published by National Historical Co., St. Louis, 1886, p. 133), writes:

"General Doniphan states to the writer hereof that he also received an order and a letter from Governor Boggs. The order, General Doniphan says, commanded him to obey the orders of Gen. John B. Clark, when he should arrive and assume command, as he had been ordered to do, and the letter was very denunciatory of the Mormons and declared among other things, that they must all be driven from the state or exterminated.

"It is asserted that General Atchinson's orders or directions from the Governor were to the same purport as Doniphan's letter from the Governor, and that thereupon General Atchison withdrew from the military force, declaring that he would be no party to the enforcement of such inhuman commands. On the other hand, it is asserted that the Governor's orders to Atchison relieved him from command, directing him to turn over his command to General Lucas.

"At any rate, General Atchison left the militia at Log Creek on receipt of the Governor's orders and returned to his house at Liberty, and General Lucas was left in sole command."

FOUNDING OF THE DANITES.

The *History of the Church* declares that it was at this time that the organization known as the *Danites* was formed by one Doctor Sampson Avard, who formed his adherents into a secret organization composed of companies of tens and fifteens, appointing a captain over each company. To the captains, Avard is quoted as saying:

"'My brethern, as you have been chosen to be our leading men, our captains to rule over this last kingdom of Jesus Christ, who have been organized after the ancient order, I have called upon you here today to teach you and instruct you in the things that pertain to your duty, and to show you what your privileges are and what they soon will be. Know ye not brethern, that it soon will be your privileges to take your respective companies and go out on a scout on the borders of the settlements, and take to yourselves spoils of the goods of the ungodly Gentiles? For it is written, the riches of the Gentiles shall be consecrated to my people, the house of Israel: and thus waste away the Gentiles by robbing and plundering them of their property; and in this way we will build up the kingdom of God, and roll forth the little stone that Daniel saw cut out of the mountain without hands, until it shall fill the whole earth.

"'For this is the very way that God destined to build up his kingdom in the last days.

"'If any of us should be recognized, who can harm us? for we will stand by each other and depend one another in all things. If our enemies swear against us, we can swear also. (The captains were confounded at this, but Avard continued): Why do you startle at this brethern? As the Lord liveth, I would swear a lie to clear any of you; and if this would not do, I would put them or him under the sand as Moses did the Egyptian, and in this way we will consecrate much unto the Lord, and build up his kingdom, and who can stand against us? And if any of us transgress, we will deal with him amongst ourselves. And if any one of the Danite Society reveals any of these things, I will put him where the dogs *cannot bite him*.'

"At this juncture all of the officers revolted and said it would not do, they should not go into any such measures, and it would not do to name any such things, such proceedings would be in open violation to the laws of our country, and would be robbing our fellow citizens of their rights and are not according to the language and doctrine of Christ of the Church of Latter Day Saints."

"This modern Sampson replied and said there were no laws that were executed in justice, and he cared not for them, this being a different dispensation, a dispensation of the fullness of times; in this dispensation I learn from the Scriptures that the kingdom of God was to put down all other kingdoms, and he himself was to reign and his laws alone were the only laws that would exist.

"Avard's teachings were still manfully rejected by all, Avard then said that they had better drop the subject; although he had received his authority from Sidney Rigdonthe evening before.

"When a knowledge of Avard's rascality came to the Presidency of the Church, he was cut off from the church, and every means proper used to destroy his influence, at which he was highly incensed, and went about whispering his evil insinuations but finding every effort unavailing, he again turned conspirator, and sought to make friends with the mob."

The Haun's Mill Massacre.

"The mob began to encamp at Richmond on the 26th and by this time amounted to about two thousand five hundred,all ready to join the standard of the Governor. They took up a line of March for Far West, traveling but part way where they encamped for the night.

"Tuesday, 30th,their advance guard were patroling the country and taking many prisoners, among whom were Brother Winchester and Brother Carey, whose skull they laid open by a blow from a rifle barrel. In this mangled condition the mob laid him in their wagon and went on their way denying him every comfort and there he remained that afternoon and night.

"General Clark was in camp at Chariton under a forced march to Richmond, with about a thousand men and the Governor's exterminating order." (*Millenial Star*, Vol. 15, pp. 458, 560, 507.)

Just at this time occurred the worst battle of the war. It has always been denominated Haun's Mill Massacre.

Perhaps the best account of this massacre ever written came from the pen of Major Reburn S. Holcombe, one of the most prolific of Missouri historical writers, and the author of the best of Missouri county histories. He moved to St. Paul prior to 1890, where he died in November, 1916. He wrote over the name of "Burr Joyce," and his account of the massacre appeared in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* for October 6, 1887, and is as follows:

"Breckenridge, Mo., Sept. 27, 1887.

"In the afternoon of Tuesday, October 30, 1838, during the Mormon War in Missouri, there occurred in Caldwell county a dreadful incident, generally termed 'The Haun's Mill Massacre.' From official documents and other records, from affidavits of witnesses, and from statements made by actual participants, I have prepared the following account. If any newspaper publication of the affair has ever before been made, I am not aware of the fact. The Mormons made their first settlement in Missouri, in Jackson county, in the year 1832, under the leadership of their prophet, Joseph Smith. I have not the space here to describe their experiences in that county, their expulsion therefrom, their sojourn in Clay and Ray, their treaty by which they were given Caldwell county as a sort of reservation, their founding of the city of Far West, nor can I narrate the circumstances leading to the Mormon War (so called), and finally the banishment of these unhappy people from the state. All these incidents may form the subject of a future paper. I may state, however, that the massacre was perpetrated on the very day that the militia, under Generals Lucas and Doniphan arrived at Far West, with orders from Governor Boggs to expel the Mormons from the state or exterminate them.

"At Jacob Haun's mill on Shoal creek, in the eastern part of Caldwell county, about eight miles South of Breckenridge, there had collected about twenty Mormon families, Haun himself was a Mormon and had come to the site from Wisconsin a few years before. He had a very good mill, and clustered around it were a blacksmith shop and half a dozen small houses.

"The alarm that the troops were moving against them had driven nearly all the Mormon families in the county to Far West for safety. A dozen or more living in the vicinity repaired to Haun's Mill, which was twenty miles to the eastward of Far West. As there were not enough houses to accommodate all of the fugitives, a number were living in tents and temporary shelters. A few families, perhaps four, had come in on the evening of the 29th, from Ohio, and were occupying their emigrant wagons. Not one member of the little community had ever been in arms against the Gentiles or taken any part whatever in the preceding disturbances. Word that the militia of the state had been ordered to expel them from the country had reached the Mormons of the Haun's Mill settlement, and following this intelligence came a report that a considerable number of men in Livingston county, together with some from Daviess, had organized in the forks of Grand River, near Spring Hill in Livingston and were preparing to attack them. Whereupon, a company of about twenty-five men and boys indifferently armed with shotguns and squirrel rifles, were organized at the mill, and David Evans was chosen Captain.

"It was resolved to defend the place against the threatened assault. Some of the older men urged that no resistance should be made, but that all should retreat to Far West. The day after the skirmish on Crooked River (October 25), Haun himself, went to Far West to take Counsel of Joe Smith, 'move here by all means, if you wish to save your lives,' said the prophet. Haun replied that if the settlers should abandon their homes, the Gentiles would burn their houses and other buildings and destroy all of the property left behind. 'Better lose your property than your lives,' rejoined Smith. Haun represented that he and his neighbors were willing to defend themselves against what he called the mob, and Smith finally gave them permission to remain. Others at the mill opposed a retreat and when an old man named Myers reminded them how few they were and how many the Gentiles numbered, they declared that the Almighty would send his angels to their help when the day of battle should come. Some of the women, too, urged the men to stand firm and offered to mould bullets and prepare patching for the rifles if necessary. North of the mill was a timber half a mile in width, skirting Shoal Creek; beyond was a stretch of prairie. For a day or two Capt. Evans kept a picket post in the northern border of the timber, but on the 28th he entered into a sort of truce with Capt. Nehemiah Comstock, commanding a Company of Livingston "Gentiles" from the settlements near Mooresville and Utica, and the post was withdrawn. By the terms of this truce which was effected by a messenger who rode between Evans and Comstock, the Gentiles were to let the Mormons alone as long as the latter were peaceable and vice versa. Each party, too, was to disband its military organization. But on the morning of the 29th the Mormons learned that a company of Livingston militia, a few miles to the eastward, were menacing them, and so they maintained their organization and that night set watches. The latter company was commanded by Captain William Mann, and for some days had been operating at and in the vicinity of Whitney's mill, on the lower Shoal Creek (where the village of Dawn now stands), stopping Mormon emigrants on their way from the East to Caldwell county, turning them back in some instances, taking their arms from them in others, etc.

"On the 29th at Woolsey's, northeast of Breckenridge, an agreement was reached by the Gentiles for an attack upon Haun's mill. There companies numbering in the aggregate about two hundred men were organized. They were commanded by Captain Nehemiah Comstock, William O. Jennings and William Gee. The command of the battalion was given to Col. Thomas Jennings, an old militia officer, then living in the Forks, nearly all of the men were citizens of Livingston county. Perhaps twenty were from Daviess from whence they had been driven by the Mormons, and vowed

the direct vengence on the entire sect. It did not matter whether or not the Mormons at the mill had taken any part in the disturbances which had occurred; it was enough they were Mormons. The Livingston men became thoroughly inbued with the same spirit, and all were eager for the raid.

"The Livingston men had no wrongs to complain of themselves, for the Mormons had never invaded their county, or injured them in any way; but they seemed to feel an extraordinary sympathy for the outrages suffered by their neighbors.

"Setting out from Woolsey's after noon on the 30th, Col. Jennings marched swiftly out of the timber northwest of the present village of Mooresville, and out on the prairie stretching down southwards towards the doomed hamlet at Haun's Mill. The word was passed along the column, 'Shoot at every thing wearing breeches, and shoot to kill.'

"All the Gentiles were mounted, and they had with them a wagon and two Mormon prisoners. Within two miles of the mill the wagon and prisoners were left in charge of a squad, and the remainder of the force passed rapidly on. Entering the timber north of the Mill, Colonel Jennings forced through it, unobserved right up to the borders of the settlement and speedily formed his line for the attack. Capt. W. O. Jennings' Company had the center, Capt. Comstock's the left, and Capt. Gee's the right. The Mormon leader had somehow become apprehensive of trouble. He communicated his fears to some of the men, and was about sending out scouts and pickets. It had been previously agreed that in case of attack the men should repair to the blacksmith shop and occupy it as a fort or blockhouse. This structure was built of logs, with wide cracks between them; was about eighteen feet square and had a large, wide door. The greater part of the Mormons were, however, unsuspicious of any imminent peril. Children were playing on the banks of the creek, women were engaged in their ordinary domestic duties, the newly arrived immigrants were resting under the trees, which were clad in the scarlet crimson and golden leaves of autumn. The scene was peaceful and Acadian. It was now about four o'clock in the afternoon and the sun hung low and red in a beautiful Indian summer sky.

"Suddenly, from out the timber north and west of the mill, the Gentiles burst upon the hamlet. The air was filled with shouts and shots, and the fight was on. It cannot be fairly called a fight. Taken wholly by surprise, the Mormons were thrown into extreme confusion. The women and children cried and screamed in excitement and terror, and the greater number, directed by some of the men, ran across the mill dam to the south bank of the creek and sought shelter in the woods.

"Perhaps twenty men, Captain Evans among them, ran with their guns to the blacksmith shop and began to return the fire. Some were shot down in their attempts to reach the shop.

"The fire of the Mormons was wild and inaffective; that of the militia was accurate and deadly. The cracks between the logs of the shop were so large that it was easy to shoot through them, and so thickly were the Mormons huddled together on the inside that nearly every bullet which entered the shop killed or wounded a man. Firing was kept up all the while on the fleeing fugitives, and many were shot down as they ran.

"Realizing very soon that he was placed at a decided disadvantage, Captain Evans gave orders to reretat, directing every man to take care of himself. The door of the shop was thrown open and all of the able bodied survivors ran out, endeavoring to reach the woods. Some were shot before reaching shelter. Captain Evans was much excited and ran all the way to Mud Creek, seven miles south, with his gun loaded, not having discharged it during the fight. The Gentiles advanced, and began to use their rough, homemade swords, or corn knives, with which some of them were armed. The fugitives were fired on until they were out of range, but not pursued, as the few who escaped scattered in almost every direction.

"Coming upon the field after it had been abandoned, the Gentiles perpetrated some terrible deeds. At least three of the wounded were hacked to death with the corn knives or finished with a rifle bullet. William Reynolds, a Livingston County man, entered the blacksmith shop and found a little boy, only ten years of age, named Sardnis Smith, hiding under the bellows. Without even demanding his surrender the cruel wretch drew up his rifle and shot the little fellow as he lay cowering and trembling. Reynolds afterward boasted of his exploit to persons yet living. He described with fiendish glee how the poor child kicked and squealed in his dying agonies, and justified his inhuman act by the old Indian aphorism, 'Nits will make lice.'

"Charley Merrick, another little boy only nine years old, had hid under the bellows. He ran out but did not get very far until he received a load of buckshot and a rifle ball, in all three wounds. He did not die, however, for nearly five weeks. Esquire Thomas McBride was seventy-eight years of age and had been a soldier under Gates and Washington in the Revolution. He had started for the blacksmith shop, but was shot down on the way, and lay wounded and helpless, but still alive. A Daviess County man named Rogers, who kept a ferry across Grand River, near Gallatin, came upon him and demanded his gun. 'Take it,' said McBride. Rogers picked up the weapon and finding that it was loaded deliberately discharged it into the old veteran's breast. He then

cut and hacked the body with his corn knife until it was frightfully gashed and mangled.

"After the Mormons had all been either killed, wounded or driven away, the Gentiles began to loot the place. Considerable property was taken, much of the spoil consisting of household articles and personal effects. At least three wagons and perhaps ten horses were taken. Two emigrant wagons were driven off with all their contents. The Mormons claim that there was a general pillage, and that even the bodies of the slain were robbed. The Gentiles deny this and say that the wagons were needed to haul off their three wounded men, and the bedding was taken to make them comfortable, while the articles taken did not amount to much. Two of the survivors have stated to me that the place was pretty well cleaned out.

"Colonel Jennings did not remain at the mill more than two hours. Twilight approaching, he set out on his return to his former encampment. He feared a rally and return of the Mormons with a large reinforcement, and doubtless he desired to reflect leisurely on his course of future operations. Reaching Woolsey's, he halted his battalion and prepared to pass the night. But a few hours later he imagined he heard cannon and a great tumult in the direction of Haun's Mill; betokening, as he thought, the advance of a large Mormon force upon him. Rousing his men from their sweet dreams of the victory, he broke camp, moved rapidly eastward, and never halted until he had put the West Fork of Grand River between him and his annoying pursuers. He and his men had won glory enough for one day and how! They had not lost a man killed and only three wounded. John Renfrow had his thumb shot off. Allen England was shot in the thigh, and ——— Hart in the arm. The Mormon killed and mortally wounded numbered seventeen. Here are the names:

Thomas McBride	Augustine Harmer
Levi N. Merrick	Simon Cox
Elias Benner	Hiram Abbott
Josiah Fuller	John York
Benjamin Lewis	John Lee
Alexander Campbell	John Byers
George S. Richards	Warren Smith
William Napier	Charles Merrick, aged 9

Sardnis Smith, aged 10.

"The severely wounded numbered eleven men, one boy (Alma Smith, aged 7), and one woman, a Miss Mary Stedwell. The latter was shot through the hand and arm as she was running to the woods. Dies irae! Bloody work and woeful. What a scene did Colonel Jennings and his men turn their backs upon as they rode

away in the gloaming from the little valley once all green and peaceful! The wounded men had been given no attention and the bodies of the slain had been left to fester and putrefy in the Indian Summer temperature, warm and mellowing. A large red moon rose, and a fog came up from the streams and lay like a face cloth upon the pallid countenances of the dead.

"Timidly and warily came forth the widows and orphans from their hiding places, and as they recognized one a husband and one a father, another a son, and another a brother among the slain, the wailings of grief and terror were most pitiful. All that night were they alone with their dead and wounded. There were no physicians, but if there had been, many of the wounded were past all surgery. Dreadful sights in the moonlight, and dreadful sounds on the night winds. In the hamlet the groans of the wounded, the moans and sobs of the grief stricken, the bellowing of cattle, and the howling of dogs, and from the black woods the dismal hooting of owls.

"By and by, when the wounded had been made as comfortable as possible, the few men who had returned gathered the women and children together, and all sought consolation in prayer. Then they sang from the Mormon hymn book a selection entitled "Moroni's Lamentation," a dirge-like composition lacking in poesy and deficient in rhythm, but giving something of comfort, let us hope, to the Choristers. And so in prayer and song and ministration the remainder of the night was passed.

"The next morning the corpses had changed, and were changing fast. They must be buried. There were not enough men left to make coffins or even dig graves. It could not be determined when relief would come or when the Gentiles would return. There was a large unfinished well near the mill, which it was decided should be used as a common sepulcher. Four men, one of whom was Joseph W. Young, a brother of Brigham Young, gathered up the bodies, the women assisting, and bore them, one at a time, on a large plank to the well, and slid them in. Some hay was strewn upon the gastly pile and then a thin layer of dirt thrown upon the hay.

"The next day Captain Comstock's company returned to the Mill, as they said, to bury the dead. Finding that duty had been attended to, they expressed considerable satisfacton at having been relieved of the job, and, after notifying the people that they must leave the state or they would all be killed, they rode away. The pit was subsequently filled by Mr. C. R. Ross, now a resident of Black Oak, Cladwell County.

"A day or two after the massacre, Colonel Jennings started with his battalion to join the state forces at Far West. He had not

proceeded far when he met a messenger who informed him that the Mormons at Far West had surrendered, and gave him an order to move to Daviess County and join the forces under General Robert Wilson, then operating against the Mormons at Adam-ondi-Ahman. The battalion was present at the surrender at Diamon as it is generally called, and a day or two thereafter Captain Comstock's company was ordered to Haun's Mill, where it remained in camp for some weeks. Herewith I give an extract from an affidavit made by Mrs. Amanda Smith, whose husband and little son were killed in the massacre, and who resided at the Mill during the stay of Comstock's company:

> 'The next day the mob came back. They told us we must leave the state forthwith or be killed. It was bad weather, and they had taken our teams and clothes; our men were all dead or wounded. I told them they might kill me and my children and welcome. They said to us, from time to time, if we did not leave the state they would come and kill us. We could not leave then. We had little prayer meetings; they said if we did not stop them they would kill every man, woman and child. We had spelling schools for our little children; they pretended they were "Mormon Meetings" and said if we did not stop them they would kill every man, woman, and child. * * * * I started the 1st of February, very cold weather, for Illinois, with five small children and no money. It was mob all the way. I drove the team, and we slept out of doors. We suffered greatly from hunger, cold and fatigue; and for what? For our religion. In this boasted land of liberty. "Deny your faith or die" was the cry.'

"While in camp at the Mill, according to statements to me of two of its members, Comstock's company lived off the country, as did the state troops at Far West. The Mormon cattle and hogs had been turned into the fields and were fine and fat. The mill furnished flour and meal, and other articles of provision were to be had for the taking. The Mormon men were either prisoners or had been driven from the country. By the 1st of April following all had left the state. Many of them had been killed, their houses burned, their property taken, their fields laid waste, and the result was called peace.—*Burr Joyce.*"

SURRENDER OF THE MORMONS AT FAR WEST.

The state militia ordered out by Governor Lilburn W. Boggs under Generals Lucas, Wilson and Doniphan arrived in the vicinity of Far West on the afternoon of October 30, 1838. This army, with the reinforcements that arrived on the following day, constituted a force of perhaps twenty-two hundred to three thousand men. This army went into camp about a mile from Far West on the night of October 30. The Mormons designated their own armed men as the militia of Far West and this local force was busy all that night, building temporary fortifications, while the women busied themselves getting their valuables together. A battle was expected in the morning. Colonel Lyman Wight was at Adam-ondi-Ahman and he was sent for. He arrived with one hundred and twenty men on the morning of October 31. A flag of truce was either sent from the militia camp to Far West or else was sent under the advice of Colonel Wight from Far West to the militia camp, it is not very clear as to which thing really happened. But it is clear that under a flag of truce at some point outside the city of Far West at about eight o'clock on that morning Colonel George M. Hinkle and John Corrill, representing the Mormons, met certain officers of the militia forces and Colonel Hinkle, who was presumed to be in command of the Mormon armed force, secretly entered into an agreement to surrender under stipulations as follows:

1st. To give up the leaders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints to be tried and punished.

2nd. To make an appropriation of the property of all who had taken up arms, for the payment of their debts and to indemnify for damages done by them.

3rd. That the rest of the membership of the church should leave the state under the protection of the militia, but should be permitted to remain under protection until further orders were received from the commander in chief.

4th. To give up the arms of every description, the same to be receipted for.

Colonel Hinkle then returned to Far West and reported

that the chief officers of the enemy army desired an interview with Joseph Smith, Jr., Sidney Rigdon, Parley P. Pratt, George W. Robinson and Lyman Wight, all of whom accompanied Colonel Hinkle back to the militia camp, where they were met by Generals Lucas, Wilson and Doniphan, to whom Colonel Hinkle delivered the aforesaid leaders of the church as prisoners of war, much to their surprise. These prisoners were placed under a strong guard and taken into camp where they found a number of prisoners already, including Stephen Winchester and the Brother Carey, whose skull had been crushed. Winchester, with eleven other prisoners volunteered, with permission of the officers, to take Carey to his home in Far West. This was granted and Carey died shortly after reaching his family.

On Thursday, November 1, Hyrum Smith and Amasa Lyman were brought into the militia camp as additional Mormon prisoners, and placed under the guard with the other church leaders. On this morning General Lucas ordered Colonel Hinkle to march out his Mormon troops and cause them to deliver up their arms. This was done at once. The arms thus surrendered were the private property of the men who marched out under Colonel Hinkle's orders. After which the militia troops marched into Far West and took possession of the town—made a thorough search for fire arms, tore up floors, overturned haystacks, carried away some valuable property and compelled the real estate owners to sign deeds of trust to cover the expenses of the so-called war, as provided for in the second stipulation of the treaty made for the church by Col. Hinkle.

About eighty additional men were made prisoners. All the remaining Mormons were ordered to leave the state of Missouri.

While this was going on, a court martial was convened at the militia camp and all of the aforesaid church leaders were given some sort of a hearing before it, despite the fact that none of them except Lyman Wight, was in any sense connected with the military, and that military court sentenced every man of them to be shot.

General Doniphan was selected as the officer to execute the findings of the court, and the following order was delivered to him:

"Brigadier General Doniphan: Sir: You will take Joseph Smith and the other prisoners into the public square of Far West, and shoot them at nine o'clock tomorrow morning.

SAMUEL D. LUCAS,
Major General Commanding."

To this command General Doniphan made immediate reply as per the following communication:

"It is cold-blooded murder, I will not obey your order. My brigade will march for Liberty tomorrow morning at eight o'clock; and if you execute those men, I will hold you responsible before an earthly tribunal, so help me God!

A. W. DONIPHAN,
Brigadier General."

None of the prisoners was executed nor was General Doniphan ever called to account for his insubordination.

On Friday, November 2, Dr. Sampson Avard was found by the militia, hidden in some hazel brush, and brought into camp. Later he offered much testimony against his brethren in the church. On this day the church leaders were taken into Far West, and were permitted under a strong guard to see their respective families. Much feeling had become manifest in the church by this time against Colonel George M. Hinkle, because of his action in delivering his brethren into the hands of the enemy. He was expelled from the church and was ever after held in contempt by his brethren, who have always looked upon him as a traitor. He removed to Iowa where he afterward died afar from any members of his former church. Though his action no doubt saved many lives, for the militia forces outnumbered his little army perhaps five to one, his conduct in telling the designated Mormon leaders that General Lucas wanted to confer with them, whereas he had agreed to surrender them up for punishment, was never forgotten by the Church membership, nor did the Church membership ever approve of article 2 of the contract between Hinkle and Lucas,

which was afterward interpreted to hold the Church membership liable for the payment of the debts of the war waged against them, and which stripped them of their property. That treaty put the Mormons in the light of being a foreign nation, or of being a people in rebellion with belligerent rights and therefore with power to contract a treaty whereas they were certainly citizens of Missouri, subject to the laws of the state, and if they violated the law should have been tried in civil courts. They were expelled from the state, however, without a hearing.

At this time General John B. Clark was on his way to assume supreme command at Far West. He was armed with a letter from Governor Boggs, that in part said:

"The case is now a very plain one. The Mormons must be subdued and peace restored to the community. You will therefore proceed without delay to execute the former orders. Full confidence is reposed in your ability to do so. Your force will be amply sufficient to accomplish the object. Should you need the aid of artillery, I would suggest that an application be made to the commanding officer at Fort Leavenworth for such as you may need. You are authorized to request the loan of it in the name of the State of Missouri.

"The ringleaders of this rebellion should be made an example of, and if it should become necessary for the public peace, the Mormons should be exterminated or expelled from the state."

On November the 4th General Clark arrived in Far West and assumed command. On the 6th he gathered the people of Far West on the public square and said to them:

"Gentlemen: You, whose names are not attached to this list of names will now have the privilege of going to your fields and providing corn, wood, etc., for your families. Those who are now taken, will go from this to prison, be tried and receive the due demerit of their crimes. But you (except such as charges may hereafter be preferred against) are now at liberty as soon as the troops are removed that now guard the place, which I shall cause to be done immediately. It now devolves upon you to fulfill the treaty that you have entered into, the leading items of which I shall now lay before you:

"The first requires that your leading men be given up to be tried according to law; this you have already complied with.

"The second is that you deliver up your arms; this has been attended to.

"The third stipulation is, that you sign over your properties to defray the expenses of the war; this you have also done.

"Another article yet remains for you to comply with, and that is, that you leave the state forthwith; and whatever may be your feelings concerning this, or whatever your innocence, it is nothing to me. General Lucas, who is equal in authority with me, has made this treaty with you. I approve of it. I should have done the same, had I been here, I am therefore determined to see it fulfilled. The character of this state has suffered almost beyond redemption from the character,conduct, and influence that you have exerted; and we deem it an act of justice to restore her character to its former standing among the states, by every proper means.

"The orders of the Governor to me were, that you should be exterminated, and not allowed to remain in the state; and had your leaders not been given up, and the terms of the treaty complied with before this, you and your families would have been destroyed and your houses in ashes. There is a discretionary power vested in my hands which I shall exercise in your favor for a season! For this lenity you are indebted to my clemency. I do not say that you shall go now, but you must not think of staying here another season; or of putting in crops, for the moment you do this the citizens will be upon you. If I am called here again, in case of a noncompliance of a treaty made, do not think that I shall act any more as I have done—you need not expect any mercy but extermination, for I am determined that the Governor's order shall be executed. As for your leaders, do not once think—do not imagine for a moment—do not let it enter your mind, that they will be delivered, or that you will see their faces again, for their fate is fixed, their die is cast—their doom is sealed!

"I am sorry gentlemen, to see so great a number of apparently intelligent men found in the situation that you are; and oh! that I could invoke that Great Spirit, the Unknown God, to rest upon you, and make you sufficiently intelligent to break that chain of superstition, and liberate you from those fetters of fanaticism, with which you are bound—that you no longer worship a man.

"I would advise you to scatter abroad, and never again organize yourselves with Bishops, Presidents, etc., lest you excite the jealousies of the people and subject yourselves to the same calamities that have now come upon you.

"You have always been the aggressors—you have brought upon yourselves these difficulties by being disaffected and not being subject to rule—and my advice is, that you become as other citizens, lest by a recurrence of these events you bring upon yourselves irretrievable ruin."—(*Millenial Star*, Vol. 16, p .555.)

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS.

This issue of the *Review* marks the close of the articles on Duden's "Report," one of the most noteworthy and valuable historical series that has been carried in this magazine. Dr. Bek submitted his scholarly translation in 1917 and the first article was printed in the October *Review* of that year. All members of the State Historical Society and all students of Missouri history are placed under a debt of gratitude for this work. It has made accessible to the public a book of rare value heretofore sealed to all save a few. As announced in the January *Review*, Dr. Bek has begun an even more interesting series of Missouri history articles on "The Followers of Duden." This will start in the July issue.

Although criticism of the acts of some of the nation's highest public officials has been made in newspapers, magazines and speeches, it is noteworthy that few adverse remarks have been uttered against the men who have been in personal charge of the country's interests in foreign courts. The position of an ambassador from the United States during the last four years has demanded ability, astuteness and courage. This was especially true of the American embassy in Petrograd. The violent changes in government in Russia were charged with the greatest significance to the world. After the entry of the United States into the war, the politics of that country became of first importance. Under such conditions it was indeed fortunate for this nation that a man of the ability, character and courage of David R. Francis held the post in Petrograd. The life of this great Missourian and his career as Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Russia, are interestingly set forth in this *Review* by the eminent historian, Mr. Walter B. Stevens, of St. Louis. No one is better fitted to write on this subject than Mr. Stevens. He has known Ambassador Francis for decades, has worked by his side as secretary of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition,

and has been a friend. A fitting sketch under "Missourians Abroad" is this one on the noted St. Louisian, penned in the language of an artist of words by another noted St. Louisan.

"The History of the State Flag of Missouri," by former State Senator R. B. Oliver, will be of interest to Missourians. The references to the *General Assembly Journals* make Senator Oliver's statements authoritative. Missouri has been more fortunate in legalizing a "State Flag" than in adopting a "State Song." The two should go together. Perhaps some composer will appear with music for the words to the song written by Mrs. Lizzie Chambers Hull, or some song already sung will be accepted, or a new one will come to light. A "State Flag," a "State Song" and a "State Flower," Missouri should have.

In Memoriam:

Readers of the *Review* will note with sorrow the large number of truly eminent Missourians whose life sketches appear under "Personal." The last four months have witnessed the deaths of more representative sons of the state than any previous similar period since this magazine was established. Missourians of prominence in seven different fields of knowledge have died since November, 1918. Standing high in military circles, representative of a noble pioneer Missouri family, was Lieutenant General John Coalter Bates. Prominent in the halls of legislation in Congress was Representative William P. Borland, of Kansas City, Missouri. Widely known in the field of Missouri letters was the author, Roswell M. Field, brother of beloved 'Gene. Attaining distinction in painting was the St. Loius artist, Matthew Hastings. Of international fame as a philosopher and author and Platonist scholar, was Dr. Thomas M. Johnson, of Osceola. Representative of forceful constructive journalism was Charles H. McKee, of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*. A distinguished member of the Missouri Bench and Bar was Judge Thomas A. Sherwood. These men are no more. Missouri's loss is also the nation's, for men of these types are nation builders.

Comments by Others:

Among the appreciative letters received, these have been selected for reproduction:

"The National Genealogical Society has received for its library the October, 1918, and January, 1919, issues of *The Missouri Historical Review*. Please tender our appreciation to the writers of the valuable articles in the January number on the early days in Missouri."

Cora C. Curry, Librarian,
Washington, D. C.,
February 28, 1919.

"I have just received *The Missouri Historical Review* for January. There is much of interest in the articles in this number and they will help all to remember the early history of the state. The State Historical Society of Missouri is doing a wonderfully good work and is helping all readers of Missouri history. *The Missouri Historical Review* is doing a work worthy of Missouri history and worthy of Missouri men and women."

Captain John B. White, President
Missouri Valley Historical Society of
Kansas City, February 19, 1919.

"We suppose some people do not know anything about 'The State Histoical Society,' and that it issues a quarterly publication containing many interesting facts about our interesting state. This association was organized by the Missouri Press Association some twenty-five years ago, and every newspaper man should belong, as well as all citizens who take a deep interest in the past, the present and the future of our great state. This Society has a large library of Missouri books and manuscripts, and it has charge of the celebration of our centennial. The past two years the war has absorbed our attention so other matters have been neglected; but we are reaching a point when we can turn, partially at least, to other matters.

"We have just been reading the October number of the *Review*, and to our mind it is thrillingly interesting. The people of this state are to be congratulated on having such a publication as *The Missouri Historical Review*, and it should be widely read."

W. O. L. Jewett, Editor
The Shelbina Democrat,
November 6, 1918.

PERSONAL.

Lieut.-General John Coalter Bates: Born in St. Charles county, Missouri, in 1842; died at San Diego, California, February 4, 1919.He was a member of the famous Bates family of Missouri, being a son of Edward Bates, Attorney General in President Lincoln's cabinet. He was educated at Washington University in St. Louis. When the Civil war broke out he enlisted at the age of 19. He was rapidly promoted and reached the rank of lieutenant-colonel by the close of the war. He was practically in command of the Union army at the Potomac. When the Spanish-American war broke out he was in command of the Bates Independent Brigade, which later became the Third Division of the Fifth Army Corps. Later he was in charge of the department of Southern Luzon in the Philippines. He was retired from active service in 1906, at his own request, after 40 years of service.

Hon. William Patterson Borland: Born October 14, 1867, in Leavenworth, Kansas; died February 21, 1919, in Field Hospital No. 301 of the 4th Army Corps in France. He was graduated from the law department of the University of Michigan in 1892 and entered upon the practice of law in Kansas City. In 1895 he helped found the Kansas City School of Law and was elected dean of that institution. He held this position for fourteen years, resigning in 1908 to go to Congress. He was re-elected to Congress in 1910, 1912, 1914 and 1916. In the democratic primary last fall he was defeated for the nomination for a sixth term. On January 1, 1919, he sailed for France on a mission for the Masonic Grand Lodge of Missouri, to further Masonic war work among the men of the 35th and 89th divisions. He had been confined to the hospital for three weeks. Representative Borland was a student of Missouri history and delivered several noteworthy speeches on this subject in Congress. For years he had been a loyal supporter of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

Hon. Thomas J. Coulter: Born September 6, 1852, in Fleming county, Kentucky; died November 19, 1918, in Har-

risonville, Missouri. Mr. Coulter came to Missouri in 1883 and lived the greater part of the time since in Cass county. He served in the 45th General Assembly as Representative from Cass county.

Roswell Martin Field: Born September 1, 1851, in St. Louis; died January 10, 1919, in Morristown, New Jersey. He was educated at Phillips-Exeter Academy and at the University of Missouri, leaving the latter institution in 1872. From school he went to Kansas City, where he engaged in newspaper work, winning some fame as the writer of a series of articles for the old *Kansas City Times*, under the heading, "The Fault Finder." About 1895 he went to Chicago, continuing his literary work there. He collaborated with his brother, Eugene, in the writing of "Echoes from the Sabine Farm"—his first book. His best known works are: "In Sunflower Land," "The Passing of Mother's Portrait," "The Romance of an Old Fool," "The Bondage of Ballinger," "Little Miss Dee," and "Madeline." For the past several years he had resided on a large estate near Morristown, New Jersey.

Matthew Hastings: Born in Georgetown, D. C., December 31, 1834; died in St. Louis, January 23, 1919. He came to St. Louis in 1840 and was educated at St. Louis University, later spending two years in Europe studying art. He was perhaps best known as a portrait painter, though he also painted a great many pictures of pioneer life and scenes, and biblical subjects. He was a friend of Eugene Field and Carl Wimer. One of his most notable works was a portrait of former Governor David R. Francis, which was destroyed in the capitol fire at Jefferson City.

Dr. Thomas Moore Johnson, "The Sage of the Osage:" Born in Osceola, Missouri, on March 30, 1851; died at Osceola, March 2, 1919. His father was Waldo P. Johnson, an eminent lawmaker, statesman, and Confederate soldier. He attended the Osceola public schools, and completed his education at Notre Dame University in Indiana. He married Miss Alice Barr, of which union were born three sons and a daughter. Dr. Johnson was a distinguished lawyer and served as

prosecuting attorney of St. Clair county in 1874-76 and 1898-1900. He was the first mayor of Osceola, serving thirteen years, and was a member of the school board for over thirty years. He gave up the practice of law and devoted himself to philosophic research. His claim to fame rests upon his attributes as a scholar, writer and bibliophile. He was a phenomenal linguist, particularly in the dead languages. As the writer of authoritative essays, books and treatises, he was widely known. He was said to have been "the greatest man in certain lines of thought in either Europe or America." As a student and translator of Plato and Aristotle, Dr. Johnson had an international reputation. He issued a quarterly, "The Platonist," which was published at Osceola, as were all his writings, even those in the Greek language. During the later years of his life he lived and slept in his library, in which were collected over five thousand volumes.

Hon. Philander P. Lewis: Born at Crescent, Missouri, in 1866; died at Crescent, January 29, 1919. His parents were pioneer settlers in St. Louis county and for many years he was extensively engaged in dairy farming, becoming a recognized authority in the field. Governor Hadley appointed him president of the State Board of Agriculture and he was reappointed by Governors Major and Gardner, occupying that position at the time of his death.

Charles H. McKee: Born in St. Louis, July 5, 1852; died in St. Louis, December 19, 1918. He was educated in the St. Louis public schools and at Washington University. He began work early in life as a minor clerk in the *Globe-Democrat* office, worked his way up, and in 1897 succeeded Joseph B. McCullagh as vice-president of the company. He had been president of the company and editor of the paper since 1915.

Hon. Noble Harvey Rogers: Born in Fayette county, Ohio, May 25, 1836; died in Washington, D. C., December 20, 1918. He was admitted to the practice of law at Princeton, Missouri, in 1867. He was also at that time publisher of the Princeton *Advance*, the first newspaper published in Mercer county. He served as sergeant-at-arms of the State

Senate in the 25th General Assembly and was superintendent of schools for Mercer county one term. He went to Sedalia in 1892 to practice law, specializing in pension cases. He had lived in Washington, D. C., since 1913.

Hon. Thomas A. Sherwood: Born at Eatonton, Georgia, June 2, 1834; died at Long Beach, California, November 22, 1918. He was educated at Mercier University, Georgia, Shurtleff College, Alton, Illinois, and the Cincinnati Law School. He was admitted to the Missorui bar in 1857 and practiced law at Neosho, Mt. Vernon and Springfield. He was elected as judge of the supreme court of Missouri in 1872 and was a member of that court from that time until his retirement in 1903. From 1876 to 1883 he served as chief justice.

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THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

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Published Quarterly by

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI

COLUMBIA

THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

Subscription Price $1.00 a Year

The *Missouri Historical Review* is a quarterly magazine devoted to Missouri history, genealogy and literature. It is now being sent to twelve hundred members of the Society. The subscription price is one dollar a year.

The *Review* contains articles on Missouri and Missourians. These articles are the result of research work in Missouri history. The style of presentation is as popular as is permissible in a publication of this character.

Missourians are interested in their State Historical Society. The *Review* appeals to this interest by summarizing the recent activities of the Society. It also does this of other state-wide organizations of a historical or patriotic character. Important historical happenings are also chronicled and members of the Society are urged to make this complete for their section of Missouri. The general Missouri items include biographical sketches of individuals in public life or of historic fame.

Manuscripts and letters on all Missouri subjects of a historical or biographical nature are welcome, and will be read and decided upon with as little delay as possible.

Thirteen volumes of the *Review* have been published. A few complete sets are still obtainable from the Society—Vols. 1-13, bound in best library buckram, $42.00; unbound, $28.00. Separate volumes, unbound, except Vol. 1, as follows: Vols. 2, 3 and 6 each, $3.00; Vols. 4 and 5, each $2.00; Vols. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13, each $1.00. Prices of reprints of most important articles given on request.

All editorial and business communications should be addressed to Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary, The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

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THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XIII, No. 4 COLUMBIA JULY, 1919

MISSOURI AND THE WAR.

SIXTH ARTICLE.

FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER.

MISSOURI'S WAR GOVERNOR.

FREDERICK D. GARDNER.

On the evening of the 25th of April, 1917, 10,000 Missourians were assembled in the Coliseum in St. Louis. With that date began the activity of Governor Frederick D. Gardner as Missouri's War Executive. The meeting was an American loyalty rally. The nerves of the Nation were tense. Three days before, Congress had assembled in special session and had been addressed by President Wilson. The President had asked Congress to declare war. The meeting in the Coliseum was hourly expecting word that the United States Senate had adopted the war resolution. The word came that night but the 10,000 St. Louisans had acted more quickly than the Senators and had already given voice to their patriotism.

On the stage of the Coliseum were Governor Gardner and Mayor Kiel, the uniformed colonels of the Governor's staff and a number of women including Mrs. Gardner and

Mrs. Kiel, besides officers of the First Regiment and other military bodies. Resolutions prepared by eminent citizens of St. Louis were handed Governor Gardner. These resolutions were read by the Governor:

"The citizens of St. Louis, in mass meeting assembled, unanimously and unreservedly make public this declaration:

"We stand for the honor of our flag, for the rights of Americans on sea and on land, and in full protection of everyone of those rights, and to that end are in favor of immediate and compulsory universal military service and adequate means to secure, when the war shall end, lasting world peace.

"We stand with the President of the United States and his counselors in every effort of his to safeguard our country's honor and to defend the rights of our people.

"Partisanship sinks out of sight in the face of a national danger.

"We have but one country, one flag, one purpose.

"May God defend and keep our beloved United States of America."

The Governor called for votes in favor of the adoption of the resolutions. There was a great torrent of "ayes" from all parts of the building.

"The resolutions are adopted," the Governor declared. "*This is no time for slackers, copperheads or soft pedalists. If there are any such among us, it is out duty to drive them out and brand them as traitors.*"

The next day, on the 6th of April, 1917, at 1:13 P. M., President Wilson issued the proclamation declaring, "That a state of war existed between the United States and the Imperial German Government."

On April 9th the Secretary of War addressed a letter to the State Governors asking for the establishment of State Councils of Defense. Just three days later Governor Gardner issued his first war proclamation, calling a War Conference of Missouri cities and organizations at Jefferson City on April 23, 1917. The proclamation reads in part as follows:

GOVERNOR FREDERICK D. GARDNER.

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GOVERNOR FREDERICK D. GARDNER.

"Whereas, The United States is now at war with a foreign enemy, and

"Whereas, It is conceded that the greatest problem confronting the United States will be the question of food supplies, for both the army and nation;

"Therefore, as Governor of this State, I call upon the bankers and those who have money to loan to perfect arrangements whereby every pair of willing hands in the State of Missouri may be furnished money on long time at low rate of interest, for the purpose of securing seeds, machinery and teams.

"The crisis confronting our State and Nation is the most critical in our history. *It is time for every loyal and patriotic Missourian* to make some sacrifice."

This was one of the first war proclamations issued by a State Governor after April 6, 1917. Missouri was again to stand foremost in patriotism. On April 9th, the first food conference in the United States had been held in St. Louis, now Missouri was to hold the first State War Conference in the Nation.

The War Conference of April 23rd in Jefferson City was attended by 500 representatives from every walk of life and business in the State. In his address before the body, Governor Gardner said in part:

"History will repeat itself in showing that the burden of war will be placed on the shoulders of the farmers. If this war is to be won it must be won by the work of the American farmers.

"As Chief Executive of this State, I now wish to repeat that which I have formerly said, that so far as the people of Missouri are concerned, from North to South, from East to West, *we stand regardless of race, creed or color, united and inseparable—one and all for our nation and our flag forever.*"

To prove that the Governor's interest in food production was not merely academic, Mrs. Gardner took the 500 delegates to the back yard of the Executive Mansion and with her hoe showed them how she was cultivating a garden which would supply food for the executive family all year.

The next day, April 24th, Governor Gardner announced the creation of the Missouri Council of Defense together

with the personnel of that body. Dean F. B. Mumford, of Columbia, was appointed chairman.

Missouri was practically the first state after the declaration of war to hold a War Conference and create a State Council of Defense. It was also the first to inaugurate the plan of organizing county and township councils. The first meeting of the Council of Defense was held in St. Louis on April 28, 1917, and the last on January 31, 1919. During the twenty-one months of its existence the Council held nineteen meetings and during this time it was, in the words of Governor Gardner, "The supreme authority of the Commonwealth in relation to the State's duty to the Nation during the entire period of the War." The great work of this organization will live in history. It was the head of the State's war activity. It organized Missouri in defense of the Nation. A summary of its activities would fill a volume. Its 12,000 members reached every hamlet in the State. Missouri's rise from rank fourteen in the value of all crops in 1916 to rank five in 1917, was due largely to Missouri's Council of Defense. The Missouri Council was not so well supported financially as many other councils were. It had available only $100,000 and spent only $76,086.47, including $7,339.67 for the Woman's Division, still it was officially rated as a class "A" council. Only eight other State Councils won that distinction, and not one of these had an appropriation under $1,000,000. Three causes contributed to this remarkable success of the Missouri Council of Defense: The high personnel of the Council selected by Governor Gardner; the eminent qualifications of Dean Mumford, who, as State Food Administrator, secured efficient cooperation between the workers of the Council and the members of the Food Administration; and the unselfish support of the patriotic citizens of Missouri.

Governor Gardner not only promoted the work of the Missouri Council of Defense but he was equally aggressive in securing the organized cooperation of the women of Missouri. The Missouri Division of the Woman's Committee,

Council of National Defense, was organized in St. Louis on May 28, 1917. Mrs. Philip N. Moore, of St. Louis, a member of the National Woman's Committee, was sponsor for the organization. Mrs. B. F. Bush, of St. Louis, was elected chairman.

This body of patriotic Missouri women did a work for the State and Nation that was of the highest service. By proclamation of Governor Gardner issued on July 7, 1917, over 300,000 Missouri women signed the Hoover Food Pledge on "Missouri's Patriotic Day, July 28, 1917."

Missouri's War Governor was awake to the needs of the hour. He realized the Nation's war burden, he vivified in himself and his family the patriotism of a loyal American citizen. His son, William K. Gardner, a freshman in the University of Missouri, became a member of the University unit of the American Ambulance Field service as early as May 14, 1917. Both in making patriotic appeals to others and in giving financial assistance to the many war organizations of the State, Governor Gardner stood in theory and in fact as the War Executive of Missouri.

When the date was set by the National Government for mustering the Missouri National Guard into Federal Service (August 5, 1917), the Governor appreciated the need of some organization to guard the peace of the State against internal disturbances. He accordingly issued a proclamation on July 17, 1917, for the organizing of Home Guards. By January 1, 1919, the total strength of the Missouri Home Guard had grown to 7,529.

In the administration of the selective law, Lieutenant James H. McCord was ordered by the War Department to assist the Governor. This entailed a vast amount of work. How well this work was done may be judged from the fact that 765,045 men were registered, each and every order for quota was filled, not a man failed to entrain. And in all this stupendous work, embracing 166 local and five district boards, not a serious complaint was made of political influence or favoritism.

From April, 1917, to December, 1918, Governor Gardner issued twenty-two proclamations. Of these, nineteen related entirely to the war and two others related largely to it. Following is a list of these proclamations:

PROCLAMATIONS ISSUED BY GOV. GARDNER, 1917-1918.

4-12-1917. "War Conference of Missouri Cities and Organizations at Jefferson City," April 23, 1917.

5-21-1917. "Liberty Bond Day," May 25, 1917.

5-22-1917. "Military Registration Day," June 5, 1917.

6-11-1917. "Flag Day," June 14, 1917.

6-11-1917. "American Red Cross Week," June 18-24, 1917.

6-23-1917. "Navy Week," July 1-7, 1917.

7-7-1917. "Mo. Patriotic Day—Registration of Missouri Women for Hoover Food Pledge," July 28, 1917.

7-17-1917. "Missouri Home Guard Proclamation."

10-16-1917. "Liberty Loan Day," October 24, 1917.

10-16-1917. "Boys' Day and Big Brother Day," October 28, 1917.

10-29-1917. "Educational Food Conservation Pledge Week," October 28 to November 4, 1917.

11-7-1917. "Missouri Y. M. C. A. War Fund Week," Begin Nov. 11, 1917.

11-10-1917. "Thanksgiving Day," November 29, 1917.

12-12-1917. "Red Cross Week," December 17-23, 1917.

1-3-1918. "Missouri's First Centennial Day," January 8, 1918.

1-23-1918. "Junior Red Cross," February, 1918.

5-11-1918. "Red Cross Week," May 20-27, 1918.

6-18-1918. "Day of Prayer and Fasting," May 20, 1918.

6-4-1918. "War Savings Day," June 28, 1918.

6-6-1918. "Flag Day," June 4, 1918.

9-27-1918. "Fourth Liberty Loan," September 28, 1918.

11-21-1918. "Thanksgiving Day," November 28, 1918.

SIGNING OF THE MISSOURI WOMAN SUFFRAGE BILL.

Office of the Governor,

1:40 o'clock, Saturday, April 5, 1919.

Seated at table, reading from right to left: Hon. Walter E. Bailey, Speaker S. F. O'Fallon, Governor Frederick D. Gardner, Lieutenant-Governor Wallace Crossley, Senator J. W. McKnight. Standing from right to left: Mrs. S. F. O'Fallon, Oregon; Mrs. Walter E. Bailey, Carthage; Mrs. W. R. Haight, Brandsville; Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, Columbia; Mrs. Frederick D. Gardner; Mrs. David O'Neil, St. Louis; Miss Marie Ames, St. Louis; Mrs. J. W. McKnight, King City; Mr. A. L. Kirby, Fayette.

Nor did Governor Gardner forget the services of those patriotic Missouri Women who had helped to bear the burden of war. In his message to the Fiftieth General Assembly of Missouri, of January 10, 1919, he said:

"I call your attention to the question of equal suffrage. If any reason for doubt has existed in the mind of any citizen of this State that the wives and mothers were entitled to the ballot, their glorious inspiration and the patriotic work they have performed during this war must have dispelled that doubt. Let us give the women of Missouri the right of the franchise at the earliest possible moment. I suggest that you memorialize the Congress urging the submission of the Amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for equal suffrage. This is but simple democratic justice and should not be delayed."

Significant is the fact that exactly two years to a day after Governor Gardner presided at the loyalty rally in the St. Louis Coliseum, he signed the Woman Suffrage Bill in his executive office in the State Capitol at 1:40 o'clock, Saturday, April 5, 1919.

Earnestly and truthfully had Missouri's War Governor attempted to bear out his statements of April 23, 1917, when he opened the Missouri War Conference in these prophetic words:

"As Chief Executive of this State, I now wish to repeat that which I have formerly said, that so far as the people of Missouri are concerned, from North to South, from East to West, *we stand regardless of race, creed or color, united and inseparable—one and all for our Nation and our flag forever.*"

A MISSOURI WELCOME WORTHWHILE.

"Now let me preach a little sermon. When the boys come back remember that brass bands and ice cream aren't the only things to a real welcome. Get busy and do something worthy—provide each returning soldier with a job and make it a 10% increase in pay for services abroad. Do that and let the boys over there know that you are going to do that."—Maj. Gen. Peter E. Traub, Commander 35th Division.

The advice of Maj. Gen. Traub was taken seriously in Missouri. This State can well be as proud of her record in

welcoming her boys at home as she was of her record in supporting them abroad. A Missouri welcome means more than flowers and functions and triumphal arches. It includes these as that outward manifestation of honor and pride. But, it goes deeper. The Missouri welcome in 1919 was an open ovation and an open declaration of obligation. Bands and banquets there were, and marches and processions and speeches and dances—all given in the joy and enthusiasm of a people to whom their dearest treasures had returned. On the same page of the evening and morning press that heralded these, however, there also appeared in cold black type, modestly but plainly set forth, another kind of welcome—one that will live when the other will be only a cherished memory.

The return this spring of those divisions largely Missourian, as the 35th and 89th, called forth supplement "Home Coming" editions in the St. Louis newspapers. These were interesting, historical accounts of Missouri troops. All business joined in the welcome. Industrial firms took a page, extending a hearty homecoming to the heroes. Some of these pages were significant. They should be treasured as expressive of a Missouri welcome worthwhile:

"*Your job awaits you,*" was the welcome extended by the Rice-Stix Dry Goods Company to the 35th Division in St. Louis in May.

"*Your old position with our company awaiting you,*" was the welcome of the Ely Walker Dry Goods Company.

"*Every one of you who left this store to take up arms in that dark hour when our country needed brave men, will find a hearty welcome—and your job—waiting you,*" was the greeting of praise and promise held out by the Famous-Barr Company.

"*For all employees who left this company to enter the service of their country, a BETTER position than the one they left awaits them,*" runs the full page greeting of the Acme Cement Plaster Company.

"*Buddy, come back to your good old job, seems like the BEST welcome we can offer you,*" enjoined the Statler Hotel,

Hoyt Metal Co., Best Clyner Mfg. Co., H. Worthington Eddy, and the Warren Steel Casting Company.

"Say Buddy, want your job back? It is here in St. Louis waiting for you," promised the Illinois Traction System.

"Over six hundred big St. Louis business institutions have pledged themselves to give jobs to their returning soldiers. Be of good cheer. St. Louis will take care of her own. We've gone over the top with you in every phase of this man's war, we'll not disappoint you now. Come back to your jobs. Welcome home," was the contribution of St. Louis business.

These have been selected as typical of that higher, honorable, *truly* patriotic position taken by those business firms of the State that were willing and were desirous of making a welcome home worthwhile to the heroes of the war. Missouri's record in the Liberty Loans will long be remembered, her response to humanitarian war campaigns will live, her full co-operation in industry, mining and agriculture will be set forth in the large tomes of government reports, histories will appear on Missouri divisions, rosters will be printed, monuments will be erected to the State's honored dead, but there will also be the memory, proudly cherished by hundreds of employers and by thousands of employees, of this Missouri's Welcome Worthwhile.

89TH DIVISION—"A. E. F. F."

Altho there is honor sufficient for each of the thirty-two grand combatant divisions of the A. E. F., competitive debates for highest credit have already been heard in the camps "over-there" and in the corner stores at home. Of course a unanimous verdict will never be reached. The bias of the judges and the brevity of life, prevent such a settlement. The records of the War Department, the notes from the men, the citations of the generals, the reports of correspondents, casualty lists and honor rolls, may, however, force an extra unofficial letter-abbreviation to the "A. E. F." or that final "F" will be popularly interpreted *Fighters* instead of *Force.* British and French officers while denying that our boys are

Soldiers in the sense of having caution in attack, are quite frank in calling them *fighters*. Even the tiger men from Australia, who early gained the reputation among both friends and foes of being especially strong-armed and ungentle in battle, said that the Americans were a little "rough." The A. E. F. in France was more accurately the A. E. F. F.—"American Expeditionary Fighting Force." And the 89th Division has been dubbed the "Fighting 89th." The other divisions will not yield the 89th first place of honor in this war but all are willing to concede it an equal among the first.

Each state has ever had some one or two military organizations whose careers were cherished with special pride. Other war bodies may have accomplished as much, may have suffered even more, may have served longer with loyalty as steadfast, but somehow they did not catch the popular imagination and retain the people's memory. Missouri has cherished the exploits of Doniphan and his "Army of 1,000 Missourians" for nearly three quarters of a century. The fame of their Expedition to Mexico, 1846-7, is greater today than ever and is growing and increasing each year. This is also true with almost equal accuracy regarding Shelby's Brigade. No more daring and courageous body of cavalry is met with in the Civil War. We venture that the "Fighting 89th" and the "Brave 35th" will be remembered in history and in story along with these two famous bodies of Missourians of the last century.

The story of the 89th is the story of one of the most successful divisions in the American army in France. This resume of interesting facts about the 89th gives some idea of its remarkable career:

Called the Middle West Division.

Organized and originally commanded by Major-General Leonard Wood.

Drafted from the States of Missouri, Kansas, South Dakota, Nebraska, Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona.

Officers chiefly from those same States and most of them graduates of the Fourteenth Provisional Training Regiment, Fort Riley, Kansas.

The 89th Division was organized August 25, 1917, at Camp Funston, Kansas.

Fought at St. Mihiel in first All-American drive on western front.

Fought at Argonne-Meuse, last battle of the war.

Was part of the Army of Occupation in Germany.

The first division to move from training area to the front by truck.

The first division to enter the line without previously having been brigaded with French or British troops.

The first division to be continuously in the front line for more than eight weeks.

The first National Army division to participate in a major operation.

The first National Army division to enter Germany.

The record of the 89th up to the signing of the armistice was as follows:

It ranked second among the thirty-two combatant divisions in the number of officer prisoners, the number being 192.

It ranked third in taking 4,869 soldier prisoners.

It ranked second in capturing 127 artillery guns and fourth in taking 455 machine guns.

It ranked fifth in advancing 48 kilos.

It ranked fourteenth in suffering 8,813 casualties—1,419 battle deaths, and 7,394 wounded—being 3% of the total casualties of the American army.*

It ranked thirteenth in being awarded 97 D. S. C's.

It received 8 citations.

It tied with the 30th Division for first rank in receiving 7 of the first 47 Congressional Medals of Honor awarded.**

It obtained the highly creditable low rank of twenty-fourth in having only one officer and only twenty-four of its men being taken prisoners.

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*The 2nd Division stood first in suffering 25,076—4,419 battle deaths and 20,657 wounded. The total sacrifice of the United States on the battlefield was 286,044—48,909 battle deaths and 237,135 wounded.

**Other reports give the 30th, ten Congressional Medals. The 30th Division, called "Old Hickory Division," was composed of the National Guard troops from Tennessee, North and South Carolina—the Southern mountain states. It attacked the famous Hindenburg line on Sept. 26, 1918, and won the honor of being the first American division be break thru that line on Sept. 29th. It received highest praise from Gen. Pershing and from the British commanders.

The Missouri hero of the 89th who received one of the seven Congressional Medals of Honor, was Pvt. Charles D. Barger, of Stotts City. One other of the seven was Pvt. Jesse N. Funk, who was born in Harrison County, Missouri, but whose present address is in Colorado. Another Missouri member of the 89th whose deeds of remarkable bravery formed one of the "100 best stories of the War," is Sergt. Arthur Forrest, of Hannibal. The Colonel of his regiment has asked that a Congressional Medal be awarded Forrest.

With such a record the homecoming of the 89th was a Roman triumphal procession. Honor was justly accorded its return. These messages of greeting from the State's Chief Executive and Missouri's highest military officials truly express the pride of Missouri and neighboring states in the "Fighting 89th:"

GOV. GARDNER'S MESSAGE TO THE 89TH DIVISION.

As the mother today folds to her bosom her brave soldier son; as the father embraces his boy; as the loving wife realizes that her husband has been restored to her, and as brothers, sisters, sweethearts and friends are once more made happy, we rejoice and bid you welcome.

You are essentially a part of America's great army of democracy. Under the stars and stripes on the battlefield you added new glory and new laurels to the fame of your forefathers. It was yours to win undying glory as the defenders of liberty and freedom. Your names will ever be enshrined in the hearts of the people with those of the nation's benefactors. Memorials of stone and bronze will be erected to commemorate the heroic deeds of yourselves and your fallen comrades.

As a united and grateful people we pay homage to you today. In the name of your beloved state, and in the name of those who have followed you in thought and prayed for you, and have waited patiently for your return, I, with an overflowing heart, welcome home the now famous 89th Division of the Third Army of the United States.

Frederick D. Gardner.

GEN. CLARK'S SALUTE.

To the Officers and Men of the 89th Division:

The people of Missouri can never find words or means to express their pride in your achievements and the depth of their grati-

tude and appreciation of the heroic part you have played in this war. The record you have made on the battlefields of Europe is an answer to the advocates of professional militarism who have in the past disparaged the worth of the civilian soldier.

Recruited from the ranks of the people of the Middle West, in whose veins flows the purest American blood, your division exemplifies the matchless efficiency of the citizen soldier. It is but the statement of a conceded fact that the record made by the 89th Division has never been surpassed by any troops in any army in the world. Missouri contributed more of her sons to this division than any other State, and she welcomes them home with inexpressible pride and joy.

Harvey C. Clark,
Adjutant General.

COL. McCORD TO THE 89TH DIVISION.

To the Men of the 89th Division:

I have followed your actions from the time you were called into service. Selected, as you were, you represented the best the country could offer. Because of my close association with your selection, I feel that I am one of you. You went overseas prepared to respond to anything asked of you. Your record shows that much was demanded, and that you responded nobly, performing thoroughly and efficiently every task assigned to you.

I heartily join with my fellow Missourians in welcoming you home and I congratulate you upon your achievements. Your deeds were such as to bring you undying fame and glory, which you will leave to your beloved State as a heritage for posterity.

J. H. McCord,
Lieutenant Colonel, Executive Officer, S. S. L., for Missouri.

After the signing of the armistice and the occupation of the western German posts, the 89th looked around for new laurels to crown its final efforts in foreign lands. Having little significance to the historian but of vital concern to the thirty-two American divisions abroad was the football championship. Here again the 89th won first honors over all contestants.

When Maj. Gen. William M. Wright was requested before a convention of thousands in St. Louis to describe the work of the 89th, instead of pronouncing a panegyric on unsurpassed bravery he bowed his head in thought and slowly and seriously answered in these few words:

"They fought like hell."

35TH DIVISION.

GOVERNOR GARDNER'S GREETING.

To the Officers and Men of the 35th Division:

In the name of the people of Missouri, in the name of the fathers and mothers, the wives, sweethearts and friends, and with an overflowing heart, I bid you a glad and joyous welcome home.

Since the day you left the homeland our thoughts and our prayers have followed you. During the darkest days of the war, when you were called upon to turn back the best divisions of the German Army, we had full confidence that victory would crown your efforts. Our expectations have been more than fulfilled. You have added new laurels and new glories to the record of the State and nation. You have honored all of us.

In the great battle of the Argonne, through a rain of shells and the roar of cannon, for days you followed the old flag and won undying fame. We mourn your fallen comrades. The recollection of their noble deeds and the sacrifice of their young lives dries our tears, mellows our hearts and removes the sting of bitterness from our grief. To you we bid welcome, thrice welcome home.

Frederick D. Gardner,
Governor of State of Missouri.

ADJ. GEN. CLARK'S GREETING.

To the Officers and Men of the 35th Division:

When with heavy heart I said goodby to my old command I knew that when the supreme test came upon the field of battle you would measure up to the full standard of that hero of heroes, the American civilian soldier, and that you would bring undying glory to your State. Words are too feeble to pay tribute to your matchless gallantry, your heroic achievements. The citizen-soldiery of Missouri and Kansas have met and beaten, against overwhelming numbers and in the insuperable obstacles, the picked professional soldiery of the greatest military machine. And through it all your bearing has been that of soldiers in the fullest meaning of the term. No Missouri or Kansas National Guardsman has been called upon to explain; not one among your own officers or men has felt the sting of conscience or been pointed out by the finger of accusation. Your record is clear; your accomplishments beyond words to tell. Your modesty has been that of brave men. Those who boast in vain glorious speech are not of your number. Your deeds speak for themselves and you fear not that history will record the real heroes of this war. The casualty lists bear mute testimony to the state-

ments that the Missouri and Kansas officers led their men and that the men followed with grim determination their officers with a devotion which speaks the comradeship of the civilian-soldier.

Many of you have been cited for acts of rarest courage beyond the call of duty; others, full deserving, have been overloked, as goes the fortune of war. But to your States you are all heroes; all have rendered distinguished service and to each will be given a bit of bronze, poor in intrinsic worth, but rich in its significance of the love and gratitude and pride of the people of Missouri. With it goes the pledge that they will never forget you or fail to show their appreciation of those who fought and suffered and died in this war. God pity a people who could forget.

My tears of joy and pride as I greet you on your triumphant return are mingled with tears for those who have not come back. When I miss the faces of those who have fallen my sorrow is that which only comes to men who have served together in the field. You know and understand. I cannot say more.

H. C. CLARK,
Adjutant General, State of Missouri.

The sentiment expressed in these homecoming greetings of Governor Gardner and Adj. General Clark are so tender and true that all Missourians will bear it witness. Proud as Missouri is of the "Fighting 89th," she takes equal honor and pride in her "Brave 35th." Arriving in France on May 11, 1918—a month and ten days before the 89th—this division played a most important part in securing victory for American arms. Altho its record in figures is perhaps not so striking as that of the 89th, the career of the 35th will ever be honored. Moreover, in casualties—that severest of all tests on the field of battle—it suffered more than its companion division.

Its record down to the signing of the armistice was:

It tied with one division for seventeenth rank among thirty-two combatant divisions in capturing 13 officers.

It ranked twentieth in capturing 768 men.

It ranked fifteenth in capturing 24 artillery guns.

It ranked nineteenth in capturing 85 machine guns.

It ranked twenty-first in advancing 12½ kilos. (Gen. Pershing said that there were places in the line where an advance of 1 kilo meant greater sacrifice and greater advantage than resulted in an advance of 25 kilos in other places. The 35th held one of these

important positions and its high casualty list is mute evidence of the cost paid to advance even slowly.)

It ranked eleventh in having 12,605 replacements.

It ranked seventh in suffering a loss of 4 officers and 165 men being taken prisoners.

It ranked eighteenth in suffering 7,854 casualties—960 battle deaths and 6,894 wounded.

Of the first 47 Congressional Medals awarded, 2 were given to men of the 35th—Capt. Alexander R. Skinker (deceased), of St. Louis, and Nels T. Wold, of McIntosh, Minn.

The records available regarding war honors in D. S. C's. presented are constantly changing. Sources equally reliable (or unreliable) state that the 35th received from 17 to 47 D. S. C's.

When the 35th was in France last winter, their commanding officer, Major-General Peter E. Traub, suggested that each man give a franc, 20 cents, from his October or November pay, to aid the destitute French widows and orphans in their section. Many of the American boys gave a 5-franc bill and the total amount raised was 40,000 francs $8,000. When the distribution was made each widow with two children received about 75 francs, $15.00, enough to set the family ahead for a month or more in its battle with hunger.

Adjutant General H. C. Clark has contributed to the *Review* this valuable sketch relating to the 35th and other Missouri troops with the A. E. F.:

"The National Guard of Missouri, consisting of 14,756 officers and men, and the Kansas National Guard, comprise the 35th Division. The division went to France in April and was stationed in the Vosges sector in the front line trenches. It participated in the capture of St. Mihiel sector in the early part of September and led the American advance in the Argonne forest battle of September 26-29 inclusive. Its casualties in this latter battle were very great. Many of its officers and men were decorated with the croix de guerre and were cited in orders for exceptional gallantry in action. This division, the 27th division (New York National Guard), the 26th division (New England National Guard), the 30th division (Tennessee and North and South Carolina National Guard) and the 32nd division (Michigan and Wisconsin National Guard) have been commended by the French and British field commanders as the best divisions in the American Expenditionary Forces.

"The Missouri National Guard organizations serving in this division are the 1st Missouri Infantry and the 5th Missouri In-

fantry consolidated and designated as the 138th Infantry; the 3rd Missouri Infantry and the 6th Missouri Infantry consolidated and designated as the 140th Infantry; the 4th Missouri Infantry and the 3rd Kansas Infantry consolidated and designated as the 139th Infantry; the 1st Missouri Field Artillery designated as the 128th Field Artillery; the 2nd Missouri Field Artillery designated as the 129th Field Artillery; the 1st Missouri Engineer Battalion designated as the 110th Engineers; the 1st Missouri Field Hospital and the 2nd Missouri Field Hospital and the 1st Missouri Ambulance Company and the 2nd Missouri Ambulance Company, designated as the 110th Sanitary Train; the 1st Missouri Motor Battalion designated as the 110th Ammunition Train.

"One unit of the Missouri National Guard, the Missouri Signal Battalion of Kansas City, is with the Rainbow Division. It will be recalled that this division was organized immediately after the call of the troops into service and went across in October, 1917. The Rainbow Division (42nd) is made up of National Guard organizations from 26 States, the purpose being to give each state representation in the first division to go across. It made a wonderful record from the day it struck France and I believe is generally regarded as the best division of the army. The commanding officer of our battalion, Major Garrett, was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel for gallantry in action. The division has participated in perhaps 20 battles. Colonel Garrett has furnished me, from time to time, with detailed accounts of the service of this division.

"The Missouri drafted men who went out under the first call are in the 89th division. The drafted troops did not, of course, go across as early as the National Guard and hence were not in the earlier actions. This division, however, was in the front lines after the St. Mihiel fight and has made a splendid record."

MISSOURI AND THE SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM.

Provost Marshall General E. H. Crowder has recently issued his second report to the Secretary of War.[1] This report covers the operations of the three national registrations under the Selective Service System to December, 1918.[2] It is a

[1] An analysis of Gen. Crowder's First Report is set forth in the *Missouri Historical Review, Vol. XII, No. 4, pp. 248-251.*

[2] The first registration, pursuant to the act of May 18, 1917, took place on June 5, 1917. The second registration, pursuant to the joint resolution of Congress of May 20, 1918, took place on June 5, 1918. On August 13, 1918, the President issued a proclamation requiring a supplemental registration on August 24, 1918, under authority given him by the joint resolution of May 20, 1918. The third registration, pursuant to the act of August 31, 1918, took place on September 12, 1918. *Report, pp. 22-26.*

monumental work of 607 pages. Its statements, figures, charts and tables, are so many and are so condensed that few persons have seemingly had the courage to analyze them. It is regrettable that the information it contains has not had a wider and a more popular dissemination in the press and from the platform. The report gives full data on all of the states relative to this subject. Being official, it is authoritative. It is, of course, statistical, but an examination of its figures and application of these figures to Missouri are interesting, instructive and valuable.

Missouri ranked ninth among the states in the total registration of June 5, 1917, June 5, August 24 and September 12, 1918. Her total registration was 765,045; that of the Nation including states and territories was 24,234,021.[1]

Missouri's total increment of the armed forces of the United States (4,034,743) in enlistment and inductions from April 2, 1917, to October 31, 1918, under the first and second registrations, was 140,257. Of this number, 92,843 were inducted into the National Army. Missouri's total of drafted men was 66.19% of her total increment. This was approximately the same as the National average, which was 66.10%. Of every three men required of Missouri's quota, one voluntarily enlisted and two were inducted. The total of Missouri's enlisted men was 47,414. Of these, 29,863 entered the army; 14,132, the navy; and 3,419, the marine corps. Missouri's rank among the states in number of army enlistments was ninth; in number of navy enlistments, it was tenth; and in number of marine corps enlistments, it was fifth. Missouri's rank in the ratio her army enlistments bore to her total increment or quota was thirty-second—her percentage being 21.29%, the Nation's being 21.75%. Missouri's rank in the ratio her navy enlistments bore to her total quota was twenty-second—her percentage being 10.08% the Nation's being 10.84%. Curiously, however, Missouri's rank in the ratio her marine corps enlistments bore to her total

[1] *Report, p. 396.*

quota was sixth—her percentage of 2.44% being nearly twice as much as that of the Nation, which was 1.31%.[4]

Missouri's total of white and colored registrants was 764,428.[5] Of this number 54,320 were colored, or 7.11%. The National average of colored registrants was 9.36%. Missouri ranked eighteenth both in the number of colored registrants and in the ratio of same to her total registrants. The number of colored inductions in Missouri from June 5, 1917, to November 1, 1918, was 9,219. This was 40.44% of her total colored registrants from June 5, 1917, to September 11, 1918, the National average was 34.10%. The number of white inductions was 83,624. This was 26.79% of her total white registrants from June 5, 1917, to September 11, 1918, the National average being 24.04%.[6]

Missouri's reputation as a commonwealth of native Americans was again borne out by registration figures. Only 4.46% of Missouri's total registrants were aliens. The number was 34,086. This was approximately only one-fourth of the National average, which was 16.22%. Altho one of every six registrants over the Nation was an alien, there was only one alien to every twenty-two registrants in Missouri. Missouri ranked thirty-eighth among the states on this low percentage, and despite her large population she ranked as low as eighteenth in actual number of alien registrants. Of alien German males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years who registered between June 5, 1917, and September 12, 1918, Missouri had 3,044. Missouri's rank in this respect was thirteenth. Of alien German males fourteen years and upward, according to the Department of Justice, Missouri had 5,890, giving her fourteenth rank.[7]

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[4] *Report, p. 468.*

[5] *Report, p. 458f.* This number is 617 less than given in the *Report* on page 396. This slight difference, however, does not effect any change in the generalizations made.

[6] The total number of white or colored registrants from June 4, 1917, to Sept. 12, 1918, is not given, altho the total inductions by color are given down to Nov. 1, 1918. The registrants of Sept. 12, 1918, had probably not been classified by color at the date of issuance of the *Report*.

[7] *Report, p. 398.*

Owing to changes in the law, the physical classification of registrants examined by local board physicians was only approximate in revealing facts. From December 15, 1917, to September 11, 1918, 115,030 Missourians were physically examined. Of this number, 83,949 were placed in Group A, 2,742 in Remedial Group B, 9,319 in Limited Service Group C, and 19,020 in Physical Disqualified Group D. Missouri's Group A of physically perfect men under the classification constituted 72.99% of the total examined. The National average was 70.41%. Missouri ranked twenty-second among the states on this percentage of Group A men, i. e. twenty-one states had a higher percentage. Only five states had a larger number of Group A men, and only one of these (Texas) has a higher percentage. Her percentage of Group B men was 2.38%, the National average 2.76%. Missouri's percentage of Group C men was 8.10%, the National average was 10.58%. Of Group D men Missouri's percentage was 16.53%, the National average was 16.25%. Thirty-two states had a lower percentage of Group D men than Missouri, but only four of these had so large a number of men examined.[8] Moreover, seven states had a larger number of Group D men than Missouri.

From February 10 to November 1, 1918, 74,595 Missouri boys were inducted at camps. Of this number, 8,055, or 10.80% were rejected after physical examination at the camps. The National average of camp rejections during this time was 8.10%. Maryland ranked first among the states with her very low average of 4.49%. Alabama ranked lowest with her very high average of 14.16%. Missouri ranked forty-fourth. During this period one of every twenty men from Maryland was rejected, one of every seven men from Alabama, and one of every nine men from Missouri.[9] Only three states had a larger number of men rejected at camps than Missouri.

The combined figures and percentage for causes of rejections by local boards and camp surgeons, and for discharges

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[8] *Report, p. 417.*

[9] *Report, p. 420.*

from the army of inducted men from February 10 to November 1, 1918, reveal that physically Missouri boys differed only slightly from those of the other states.[10] Missouri's percentages of rejections during this time for various causes follows, the percentages in parenthesis are the National averages: Alcohol and drugs, 1.1% (0.4%); bones and joints, 10.9% (12.3%); developmental defects, 4.7% (8.4%); diseases of the digestive system, 0.5% (0.5%); diseases of the ear, 4.5% (4.4%); eyes 11.8% (10.6%); flat foot (pathological), 6.7% (3.8%); genito-urinary (venereal), 2.1% (1.3%); genito-urinary (non-venereal), 1.5% (1.3%); heart and blood vessels, 11.1% (13.1%); hernia, 8.7% (6.0%); mental deficiency, 5.4% (5.2%); nervous and mental disorders, 5.9% (5.1%); respiratory (tuberculous) 11.2% (8.7%); respiratory (non-tuberculous) 1.9% (1.7%); skin disease, 0.7% (2.7%); teeth, 1.4% (3.1%); disease of thyroid, 3.9% (1.8%); tuberculosis (non-respiratory) 0.5% (0.9%); all other defects, 1.4% (3.1%). If one were inclined to be facetious in his generalizations, he could claim that by these statistics the average Missourian was more prone to have physical defects based on the following causes than was the average American—alcohol and drugs, disease of the eyes, flat-foot, genito-urinary diseases, hernia, respiratory diseases and diseases of the thyroid. He could also with equal positiveness prove that the average Missourian excelled the average American in having sound bones and joints, fewer developmental defects, a stronger heart and blood vessels, a much healthier skin, much better teeth, less proneness to non-respiratory tuberculosis and to "all other defects."

Missouri can take warranted pride in the loyalty of her inducted men. Her total reported desertions numbered 12,340.[11] This was only 3.68% of her total registrants from June 5, 1917, to September 11, 1918. The average over the Nation was 4.45%. Missouri's comparatively high standing in this respect gave her the low rank of thirteen in the number

[10] *Report, p. 417.*
[11] *Report, pp. 46v.*

of desertions, altho her total registrants gave her the rank of nine. There were fourteen states that had a lower percentage of reported desertions, but of these only one (Illinois) had so large a number of registrants. Of the total reported desertions, however, thousands were later accounted for as not being deserters. This made the net reported actual deserters from Missouri only 10,431, or only 3.11% of her registrants during the time indicated. The National average was 3.40%. Altho twenty-two states had a lower percentage, only two of these (Illinois and Michigan) had a larger number of registrants during these months. Eleven states had a larger number of net reported actual deserters than Missouri.

Two important and interesting generalizations are gathered from General Crowder's *Report* relating to desertions. Colored desertions over the United States were two and one-half times as large proportionately as were white desertions, and in Missouri they were twice as large.[12] Alien desertions over the United States were three and one-third times as large proportionately as were citizen desertions, and in Missouri they were four and two-fifths as large. The total white and colored registrants in Missouri from June 5, 1917, to September 11, 1918, were 334,904. Of these 312,106 were white and 22,796 were colored. The total reported white desertions from Missouri were 10,549. This was 3.48% of the total white registrants during these months. The National average was higher, being 3.86%. Altho twenty-three states had lower percentages, only one of these (Illinois) had more white registrants than Missouri. The total reported colored desertions from Missouri were 1,791. This was 7.86% of the total colored registrants during the time stated. The average over the Nation was much higher, being 9.81%. Eleven states had lower percentages. Of Missouri's 11,719 alien registrants between June 5, 1917, and September 11, 1918, there were 1,703 reported desertions, or 14.53%.[13] The National average was 10.87%. Of Missouri's 323,293 citizens registrants during the same time, there were 10,637

[12] *Report, p. 461.*
[13] *Report, p. 462.*

reported desertions, or only 3.29%. The National average was 3.23%.

The total cost in Missouri of the Selective Service System from June, 1917, to October 1, 1918, was $584,431.14. Eight states had a higher cost. Missouri's high figure was justified by her large population. According to General Crowder's *Report* Missouri ranked ninth in population (3,240,679),[14] ninth in the total number of registrants (765,045),[15] and ninth in the cost of total registration.[16] The per capita cost of registrants in Missouri from June 5, 1917, to September 11, 1918, was $1.74, the National per capita was $1.86. The per capita cost of Missouri inducted men from June 5, 1917, to October 1, 1918, was $6.81, the National per capita was $7.90. The total personnel in the Selective Service Administration in Missouri from April, 1917, to November, 1918, was 5,752. Nine states had a larger personnel.[17]

The following summary may be made from the foregoing generalizations: Missouri ranked with the National average regarding enlistments, i. e., she neither fell below nor rose above the position her population justified. Missouri ranked exceptionally high in her low percentage of alien registrants. Considering her large population, Missouri ranked high in the physical condition of her men as passed upon by the local board physicians. This favorable position was, however, lost by her low rank thru physical rejections of inducted men at camp. Missouri ranked high in her low percentage of desertions as well as in her total number of desertions considering her number of registrants. Missouri colored men inducted cast special credit on their State in having a marked lower percentage of desertions than obtained over the Nation. This was also true, but not so marked, regarding Missouri white men inducted. Rather curiously, however, the ratio of both Missouri citizens and alien desertions to her citizen and alien registrants was higher than the National average,

[14] *Report*, p. 464.
[15] *Report*, p. 454.
[16] *Report*, p. 476.
[17] *Report*, p. 478.

the Missouri alien ratio being quite marked. Owing to the comparatively small number of alien registrants in Missouri, her total percentage of all desertions was brought down below the average over the Nation.

MISSOURI'S ROLL OF HONOR.

Missouri was perhaps the first State of size in the Nation to officially classify and report her total casualties. Missouri's war casualties to June 1, 1919, total 11,172, according to individual soldier cards on file in this Society. The data on these cards was obtained from National Government publications and from the newspapers of the State. The work has been under way since the entry of Nation into the war. Owing to this large casualty list of Missourians, the names have not been listed in this *Review*, if arrangements can be made, however, a supplement will be issued.

Of these 11,172 casualties, 10,702 were from the Army, 387 from the Marine Corps, and 83 from the Navy. There were 1,270 Missouri boys in the Army and Marine Corps who lost their lives in action. Besides this number 1,531 died of wounds, disease and accidents. Two hundred and sixty-nine men are still reported missing in action, and the Navy lists seventeen missing at sea.

The classified list in full follows:

ARMY:		
Killed in Action	1,210	
Died of Wounds	467	
Died of Disease	834	
Died from Accident and Other Causes	134	
Wounded Severely	2,630	
Wounded Slightly	2,129	
Wounded Undetermined	1,942	
Missing Still Unaccounted For	247	
Prisoner	142	
Missing, Later Reported Returned to Duty	188	
Died in Camp (U. S. A.)	779	10,702

MARINE:		
Killed in Action	60	
Died of Wounds	26	
Died of Disease	7	
Wounded Severely	193	
Wounded Slightly	3	
Wounded Undetermined	47	
Missing, Still Unaccounted for	22	
Prisoner	5	
Missing, Later Reported Returned to Duty	21	
Died in Camp (U. S. A.)	3	387
NAVY:		
Died of Disease	46	
Died from Accident	17	
Wounded Severely (In Action)	1	
Missing at Sea	17	
Prisoner	2	83
Grand Total		11,172

Comparing Missouri's casualties with the reports of the Federal Government on total national casualties, it appears that Missouri Division troops bore 3% of the total battle deaths and wounded. Of battle deaths Missouri boys suffered 3.4% of America's sacrifice on the battlefield.

MISSOURI WAR HONORS AND HEROISM.

Missouri can truly take pride in the war honors of her heroes. Not less than two hundred and twenty-five decorations were bestowed on Missourians who battled on European soil, according to the Missouri war honor records filed in The State Historical Society of Missouri down to June 1st. Fifty-five other Missourians were cited for bravery. This total of two hundred and eighty Missouri war honors came from nine nations, apportioned as follows: 189 from the United States; 72 from France; 9 from Great Britain; 4 from Italy; 2 from Roumania; and 1 each from Belgium, Japan, Russia and Montenegro. Of equal significance to this widespread recognition of Missouri heroism, is the high percentage

of Congressional Medals of Honor won by Missouri boys. This medal is the highest war honor bestowed by the United States Government. Of the sixty-three medals of this class given to date, five were won by Missourians—giving the State 8% of the total. The five Missourians so signally honored were: Pvt. John L. Barkley, of Holden; Pvt. Charles D. Barger, of Stotts City; Sergt. Arthur Forrest, of Hannibal; Sergt. M. W. Hatler, of Neosho; and Capt. Alexander R. Skinker, of St. Louis.*

The complete list of decorations to June 1st, so far as official figures have been compiled, follows:

MISSOURI WAR HEROES.

UNITED STATES.		
Congressional Medal of Honor	5	
Distinguished Service Cross	138	
Cited for Bravery	46	189
FRANCE.		
Croix de Guerre	62	
Cord de Guerre (James W. Banks, Gainesville)	1	
Medaille Militaire (Pvt. Charles D. Barger, Stotts City)	1	
Grand Cross of Legion of Honor (Gen. John J. Pershing)	1	
Silk Scarlet Ribbon of Legion of Honor (Gen. Pershing and Corpl. [marine] A. T. Castlen, University City)	2	
Knight of Legion of Honor (Capt. John Robert Hume, Doniphan, and Lieut. Charles R. Hanger, Laddonia)	2	
Fleur de Lis of Legion of Honor (Sergt. [marine] James W. Murphy, Joplin)	1	
Legion of Honor—special decoration unknown—(Lieut. Wollf, Monett)	1	
Decoration—grade unknown—(Miss Cornelia Bossard, Kirkwood)	1	72

*Sergt. Michael B. Ellis, of St. Louis, has since been awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.

*Gen. Pershing has also received the Knight Grand Cross, Order of the Bath.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Military Medal	5	
Royal Red Cross Decoration (Miss Tina Philips, Kansas City)	1	
Cited for Bravery	3	9

ITALY.

Silver Medal for Valor (John Keble Cloud, St. Louis)	1	
Medaglio di Bronzo al Valore Militare	1	
Medaglio d'Argento di Benemerenti della Rossa Italiena (both Medals won by Sterling McKittrick, St. Louis)	1	
Order of Cavaliere di Gran Croce dei S. S. Maurizzio e Lazzaro (Gen. Pershing)	1	4

BELGIUM.

Grand Cross of Order of Leopold (Gen. Pershing)	1	1

JAPAN.

Grand Cordon of Order of Rising Sun (Gen. Pershing)	1	1

ROUMANIA.

Cross of Military Order of Michael the Brave (Gen. Pershing)	1	
Decoration for Bravery (Lieut. W. B. Hall, Higginsville)	1	2

RUSSIA.

Decoration for Bravery (Lieut. Hall)	1	1

MONTENEGRO.

Grand Cross of the Order of Danile (Gen. Pershing)	1	1
Total Missouri Honors		280

MISSOURI AND THE FOURTH LIBERTY LOAN.

The official figures on Missouri and the Fourth Liberty Loan were late in being tabulated. The final printed reports have been completed and they are highly creditable to the patriotism of the citizens of the State. It is not surprising to the truly informed that Missouri more than met her quota. Missouri did this in each of the former Loans and it was expected that despite her very large quota in the Fourth campaign she would not fall behind. All statements here made are based on the official reports.

Missouri's total quota was $163,884,700; her actual subscription was $172,832,700, or 105.5% of her quota. In the Third Loan Missouri's quota was $79,599,700; her subscription was $110,828,300, or 152% of her quota.

Missouri's per capita quota was $50; her per capita subscription was $53¼. In the Third Loan, the figures were $24 and $33⅓, respectively.

St. Louis and Kansas City subscribed $101,427,850, or 58⅔% of Missouri's total subscription. The per capita subscription in St. Louis was $115, in Kansas City $90, and in Missouri outside these two cities, it was $30. These figures are similar to those of the Third Loan in showing the part taken by Missouri's two largest cities. In both the Third and Fourth Liberty Bond campaigns the St. Louis district was the first in the United States to exceed its quota.

In the Third Loan all Missouri counties subscribed more than their quota. In the Fourth campaign, twenty-seven counties failed to meet their quota. Twenty of these subscribed over 90% of their quota, three over 80%, two over 70% one over 60% and one 54%. Twelve Missouri counties, however, subscribed over 125% of their quota. These honor counties were: Atchison 126%, Dent 135%, Grundy 134%, Howard 139%, Jefferson 129%, Lincoln 131%, Miller 136%, Pettis 128%, Pike 128%, St. Francois 127%, Ste. Genevieve 126% and Shannon 150%. Exceptional honor and credit are due these counties. Excepting three—Jefferson, Pettis and St. Francois—none had a population of 25,000 in 1910, and

four of these—Atchison, Dent, Ste. Genevieve and Shannon—had a population of less than 14,000 in 1910. The Banner County of Missouri was the sparsely populated Ozark county of Shannon with the small population of only 11,443, but every person an American citizen of highest patriotism. Shannon was also the Banner County of Missouri in the Third Liberty Loan with her subscription quota of 316%!

The great work performed by National Woman's Liberty Loan Committee, with its remarkable organization and directors in each state, is deserving of much higher praise than it has received. This is especially true of the Missouri women who worked under the direction of State Chairman, Mrs. Theodore Benoist and State Vice-Chairman Mrs. W. T. Donovan, of St. Louis, in the Eighth District, and of Mrs. Albert B. Bates of Kansas City, in the Tenth District. Missouri women are officially credited in the Fourth Loan campaign with having obtained $50,256,000, or over 30% of the entire State's quota. This was the seventh largest sum raised by the Woman's Liberty Loan Committee in the forty-eight States.

HOW MISSOURI DOCTORS RALLIED IN THE WAR.

When the call for service came, the Missouri doctor formed the vanguard of the Nation's line of defense. Leading physicians with established practices closed their offices to answer the cry of humanity. Incomes of $100 a day and more were voluntarily exchanged for commissions as majors and captains and even lieutenants and all the hardships of the service. Five from Missouri were killed in the line of duty and two were taken prisoners.

Under the standard of the Red Cross they flocked into France from every part of the State. From the beginning to the end of hostilities, Missouri offered the service of 1,499 doctors, including 496 volunteers from the St. Louis medical ranks, according to the records of the State Medical Society. Of the total number only about 25% were sent overseas. The others went to various camps and some went on the reserve list.

The first to give up his life was Lieut. William T. Fitzsimmons, a young physician of Kansas City. The last of the doctors of Missouri to make the supreme sacrifice was Lieut. W. A. Fair, of Pleasant Hill (D. S. C.). The other Missouri doctors killed in action were: Lieut. Leroy R. Boutwell, of Kirkwood; Charles R. Long, of Sedalia, and Frank V. Frazier, of Altemont. Four more died of illness contracted in service.

Among those physicians who were first to go over and who held highly responsible positions abroad were: Major Malvern B. Clopton (Base 21, Rouen, France); Capt. Scott Hener (2nd N. Gen. Hosp., Leeds, Eng.); Majors Fred T. Murphy, Nathaniel Allison, Walter Fischell, B. S. Veeder and Eugene L. Opié, all of St. Louis. The doctors going as captains from St. Louis were Sidney I. Schwab, L. T. Post, C. H. Eyerman, Hugh McCulloch, W. R. Rainey, W. S. Thomas, R. M. Spivey, Alan M. Chesney, Edwin C. Ernst and H. M. Young.

Another St. Louis physician who got into the war early was Dr. Edgar F. Schmitz. He entered the service in June, 1917. He was awarded the British Military Cross for "devotion to duty in attending wounded under fire."

A most important assignment was given Dr. Virgil Loeb, of St. Louis. Ranking as captain, he was in charge of Maxillo facial surgery in the hospital of the Mesves center, France. These institutions had 20,000 beds.

ST. LOUIS BASE HOSPITAL UNIT 21.

The first St. Louis war organization to go overseas was Hospital Unit 21. The male part of the unit consisted of 33 officers and 278 men. A little over half of the force returned to St. Louis on April 30, 1919, after two years of service abroad. The officers of Unit 21 were physicians from the Washington University Medical School (St. Louis). Lieut.-Col. Borden S. Veeder, a St. Louis physician, was in command on the return.

Base Hospital Unit 21 was organized in April and May, 1917. Washington University Medical School and Barnes Hos-

pital were the working bases of the organization, which was equipped by the St. Louis unit of the American Red Cross. It was called into active service on May 16th, and arrived in France on June 10th. The unit took charge of British Army Hospital No. 12, near Rouen, and was commanded by Lieut.-Col. J. D. Fife until October 18, 1917, and by Maj. Fred T. Murphy, a St. Louis physician.

Maj. Murphy was later promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel, and was made Medical and Surgical Director of the Red Cross in France. Miss Julia Stinson, daughter of a former St. Louis minister, was chief nurse of the unit. She became chief nurse of the Red Cross in France and later was promoted to chief nurse of the American Expeditionary Force, the highest place open to an American army nurse.

In welcoming home this truly remarkable force, Chancellor Frederic A. Hall, of Washington University, said:

"We are very proud of what you have accomplished. No other medical school in the country has made a more creditable representation than that of Washington University and I believe no other has furnished so many men for medical posts of high responsibility in the American Expeditionary Force."

In its service at Rouen, France, Unit 21 conducted a 1,500-bed hospital for the British army, and treated 62,400 cases. Its surgeons became specialists on chest wounds. The unit held 60 nurses, making its total working strength, 371 persons.

KANSAS CITY BASE HOSPITAL 28.

Headed by Lieut.-Col. J. F. Binnie and Major L. S. Milne, Kansas City Base Hospital 28 organization arrived in Limoges, France, July 2, 1918. With none of its buildings completed Base 28 began constructing quarters. Originally planned to be a 500-bed organization, it kept enlarging up to the day the armistice was signed. At that time the Kansas City Doctors and nurses of Base 28 were caring for more than 2,000 patients

and were operating two hospitals, and withal having one of the smallest comparative death reports in the entire A. E. F.

MISSOURI LANDS FOR SOLDIER FARMERS.

Missouri has entered whole-heartedly into the movement to provide farms for the returning soldiers and sailors of the war who are disposed to follow agriculture. Farm life is appealing, and Secretary Lane has been working on a plan to provide farms on the easiest terms possible for the American soldiers. The "back-to-the-farm-sentiment" that has developed among soldiers has created surprise and Nation-wide comment. It has done more. It has started a movement in every state that has government or other lands that can be utilized in working out the plan of the Secretary of the Interior.

A general survey of reclaimable swamp and timber lands has been inaugurated in all the states. Plats and data are now being assembled at Washington. Recent canvasses made at Camp Dix and Toronto, Canada, elicited the astonishing information that 50 per cent of Americans and 44 per cent of Canadians back from the front indicated a preference for farming.

A few weeks ago a land expert of the Interior Department investigated the land prospects in Missouri and spent several days with officials at Jefferson City looking over the plats in the Land Reclamation Department. This investigation showed that Missouri had 1,920,000 acres of swamp and overflow land that could be utilized after proper drainage.

Much of this has been denuded of timber by the lumber companies, and is already being reclaimed through private enterprises. Much of the land is in New Madrid, Stoddard, Pemiscot, Dunklin and Mississippi counties in the district that was sunk in the great earthquake of December 16, 1811. For more than twenty years this work has been under way in these Missouri counties with a result that there are thousands

of productive farms where there were formerly extensive lakes or swamps. Some of the farms thus reclaimed have in recent years sold for $150 to $200 an acre. The average cost of reclaiming the swamp land has been placed at $16 an acre spreading over a period of years so as not to make the burden too great on the settler. The soil in Southeast Missouri is a black, loamy soil that has been compared with that of the Nile Valley in productivity. Corn, wheat, alfalfa and cotton are the principal crops.

A MISSOURI INVENTOR.

As an evidence that Missouri is making herself felt in the war in more ways than one, the *Lexington News* prints the following: "A. A. Kellogg, a Clinton, Mo., man, some time ago invented an instantaneous detonator for shells, which is creating havoc with German wire defenses, trenches and emplacements. Heretofore the fuses on shells made contact explosions impossible, but this Missourian's invention is doing the work quickly and all Henry county is proud of its inventor."

CARRIED FIRST AMERICAN FLAG ON STREETS OF LONDON.

When General Joffre presented an American flag to the Fifth regiment of the Missouri National Guard in St. Louis, he could hardly have imagined its subsequent history of honor. The flag was too small to suit the Fifth regiment, so it was sold to the Engineers' Club of St. Louis. When the 12th Engineers left for overseas duty the famous flag was presented to it. On arrival in England the proud ensign floated at the head of the column and when London was reached it unfurled itself to the breezes on the streets of the world's metropolis. E. E. Lambert, of Carthage, Mo., who had volunteered for service with the 12th, was the man who carried this first American flag at the head of American troops on the streets of London. Not only that, but it was the first time in cen-

turies that any foreign flag had been carried at the head of foreign toops in England.

PERSHING NAMED SIX MISSOURIANS IN "ONE HUNDRED BEST STORIES."

Heroes of six of the "One Hundred Best Stories of the War" chosen by Gen. Pershing for use in the Victory Loan Campaign were Missourians. The men were: Capt. Alexander R. Skinker, deceased, of St. Louis, (35th Div.); Pvt. Charles Disalvo, deceased, of St. Louis (89th Div.); Sergt. Arthur J. Forrest, of Hannibal, (89th Div.); Sergt. M. Waldo Hartley, of Neosho (89th Div.); Pvt. Charles D. Barger, of Stotts City (89th Div.); Capt. George H. Mallon, of Kansas City (35th Div.).

KANSAS CITY AND ST. LOUIS RANKED HIGH IN SUPPLIES PURCHASED FOR THE UNITED STATES.

In the value of army supplies purchased at Kansas City and St. Louis during the two months ending September 28, 1918, Kansas City ranked 10th and St. Louis 5th compared with the twenty-four largest cities. The value of Kansas City products was $2,599,534 and of St. Louis products was $8,053,634. In 1914 their respective ranks were 23rd and 5th.

ST. LOUIS DISTRICT "MADE IT THREE STRAIGHT."

The St. Louis District was the first in the U. S. to go over the top in the fifth loan drive. It met its quota at 5:30 p. m. May 8th. The St. Louis slogan was "Make It Three Straight," referring to the record made by the district in the third and fourth drives.

MISSOURI HONORED ABROAD.

Missouri was one of the eleven states to have Y. M. C. A. and Knights of Columbus huts abroad named for it. This honor was given the State because of its great work in all war fund drives.

GENERAL PERSHING RECEIVED FOUR NEW HONORS.

The King of Italy has conferred on General Pershing The Order of Cavaliere di Gran Croce dei S. S. Maurizzio e Lazzaro, the oldest and highest military order within the gift of the Italian Government.

The King of Montenegro decorated Marshall Foch and General Pershing with the Grand Cross of the Order of Danile.

President Wilson conferred the D. S. C. on General Pershing on October 22, 1918.

The Emperor of Japan conferred the decoration of the Grand Cordon of the Order of the Rising Sun on General Pershing.

THREE REMARKABLE PATRIOTIC FAMILIES OF ST. LOUIS.

Mr. William A. Ryan, Mrs. J. R. Morgan and Mr. and Mrs. William E. Wightman, all of St. Louis, each had six sons in the war service of the United States.

ST. LOUIS MAN PLANNED CROSSING THE MEUSE.

After the signing of the armistice many good inside stories were told of both American bravery and ingenuity. Of the latter kind is revealed the important part played by Capt. T. S. M. Smith, of St. Louis. Adapting an invention of his Colonel, L. J. Lambert, of St. Louis, Smith solved the problem

of crossing the Meuse for the division commander. A footbridge was formed of canvas floats stretched on folding frames. Heavier pontoon bridges were then easily established.

GENERAL PERSHING ON MISSOURI.

Dr. B. A. Jenkins, Editor of the Kansas City Post, brought back these words from Missouri's great general: "I cannot give you a message to print, but you can give all of them my love and appreciation when you talk to them," said General Pershing. "I love every inch of Missouri soil and every ounce of its air."—Kansas City Times—11-20-18.

ST. LOUIS' PART IN THE WAR.

(From *St. Louis Republic.*)

Following is St. Louis' contribution in the war in money and materials:

Subscriptions First Liberty Loan	$42,000,000.00	
Subscriptions Second Liberty Loan	74,000,000.00	
Subscriptions Third Liberty Loan	46,000,000.00	
Subscriptions Fourth Liberty Loan	77,000,000.00	
Total		$239,000,000.00
Gave to Red Cross		5,000,000.00
Gave to Y. M. C. A		1,120,463.00
Gave to War Camp Community Service		100,000.00
Camp Entertainment funds		45,000.00
Knights of Columbus War Fund		125,000.00
Young Men's Hebrew Association		206,000.00
Salvation Army		75,000.00
Thrift and War Savings Stamps (paid)		10,500,322.00
Overseas Hospital Fund		4,000.00
Christmas Fund for 35th Division		17,000.00
Belgian Babies' Fund		39,000.00

Smileage Campaign	$24,625.00
Home Guard Regiments	150,000.00
Missouri State Rangers	25,000.00
Armenian and Syrian Relief Fund	80,000.00
Total Subscriptions to all causes	$256,520,410.00
United War Fund	2,225,000.00
Total	$258,745,410.00

MATERIALS AND MISCELLANEOUS.

St. Louis has manufactured approximately $285,000,000 worth of war materials.

The savings of coal during the lightless period amounted to 250,000 tons. St. Louis saved 17.5 tons for each 1,000 population in seven months, or 2.5 tons a month per 1,000 inhabitants.

Three hundred and forty-three thousand St. Louisans signed the Hoover pledge—more than any other city, regardless of size.

Reduced city's garbage between April, 1917, and March, 1918, by 12,690,000 pounds.

Plowed 850 acres of back yards and lots last spring for thrift gardens.

Twenty thousand women registered to do Red Cross knitting; 5,000 for hospital garments; 10,000 to make surgical dressings.

Shipped 1,300,000 articles to France in one month.

St. Louis' Food Conservation Committee was the first of its kind in the United States.

Two hundred and forty-two thousand St. Louisans joined the Red Cross, also 102,000 Junior Red Cross members.

Sent more than 70,000 books to cantonments.

KANSAS CITIANS AT PEACE PARLEY.

Three young Kansas City men participated in the activities of the peace conference in Paris. One of them, Capt. Richard C. Patterson, Jr., occupied a position secondary only to that of the American peace commissioners. He was the executive officer of the American share in the parley.

The other two Kansas Citizans attached to the peace commission were Lieut. Kenneth Patterson, brother of the captain, who was one of the courier officers, and Lieut. R. Emmet Condon, presidential aide and confidential assistant to peace commissioner Henry White.

KANSAS CITY'S PART IN THE WAR.

No other city of its size in the United States gave us so many volunteer physicians and nurses, both for overseas service and for service during the influenza epidemic at the various camps, as did Kansas City.—*Surgeon General Rupert Blue.*

GEN. PERSHING FULFILLED HIS ANCESTOR'S HOPE.

(From *St. Louis Post-Dispatch.*)

When Gen. John J. Pershing led the victorious American armies against the Germans, he fulfilled the wish of his great-great-grandfather, Frederick Pershing, made over 200 years ago. This ancestor had written his son, Frederick Pershing, Jr, who came to America in 1749, expressing the hope that either he or his descendants, "would come back some day and redeem the fair lands of Alsace Lorraine from oppression." The letter is today in the possession of Rev. Justus N. Pershing, a cousin of Gen. Pershing.

FOUR FIGHTING MEN FROM MISSOURI.

(From *Kansas City Star.*)

Camp Upton, N. Y., May 24—You wouldn't think it to look at him. He is a little fellow, is Sergt. Arthur J. Forrest, 23 years old, weighing only 140 pounds with his clothing and hobnailed shoes, and is five feet six inches tall in those same shoes. His eyes are innocent blue.

Sergeant Forrest, who comes from Hannibal, Mo., was picked as having been the one individual hero of the 89th Division, as well as having been selected for one of the 100 hero stories of the A. E. F. that were used in the Victory Loan campaign. When it comes to modesty he is about as bad as Sergeant York, the Tennessee "terror," who alone whipped a boche machine gun battalion. York locked himself in a stateroom while the reporters were scouring the ship for him, and then was so frightened when they did find him that he could hardly talk. Forrest was a little different. It wasn't so hard to find him. He was standing in line on the Hoboken docks, his great big pack that weighs just half as much as he does fastened on his back, while he was leaning on his rifle for support.

"Is Sergeant Forrest here?" I asked. The big "C" on my left arm immediately told my profession.

"Don't know him," a little blue eyed sergeant told me, and I started to pass on.

"Hey, Star, that's him", someone yelled.

And it was.

"I understand you received the Congressional Medal of Honor?" I ask him, which medal is the highest award the United States of America can give a hero.

"Who? Me? No," he said. "I didn't get anything except homesickness."

He looked it. He didn't even wear the light blue ribbon dotted with white stars that signifies the wearer as a holder of the Medal of Honor, and, standing there in the half twilight supporting his heavy pack, you would think that he was just as he said. I felt like going on past him, for time was short and the troops were expected to move every minute. But just then an officer, the company commander, came by.

"Isn't that your Medal of Honor man?" I asked. "He tells me he didn't get anything but homesickness."

"Sure, he is," the captain answered. "He pulled one of the greatest stunts in the war."

One of the lieutenants came up by that time and the story began to come out, piece by piece.

"It was on the morning of November 1," the captain said. "We were just a little southeast of Ramonville in the Meuse-Argonne offensive. One platoon was attacking and the sergeant's platoon was supporting it. The first platoon struck a machine gun nest that poured out a withering fire. Everybody dropped. The second platoon continued until they struck the same place, and everybody fell. Then——"

"I flopped just like the rest of them," the sergeant cut in. "But our orders were to go on, so I just wriggled through the weeds. They saw me when I was within about fifty yards of the nest; so they opened fire directly on me. The bullets were whizzing by me like dust in a windstorm. I was just so frightened that I didn't know what to do, so I ran as fast as I could."

"Yes, but he ran directly into the machine gun fire, "the lieutenant said. "He threw two hand grenades into the nest and then went in after them. He clubbed one boche to death with the butt of his rifle, bayonetted two, shot two more with his rifle and then threw it away so he could use his automatic. He opened up with that and the boches all disappeared into holes like a lot of frightened rats. All the machine gun firing had stopped, so the rest of us advanced. When we got there we found him sitting on a

box guarding the entrance to the underground passageways, while six machine guns had stopped talking.

"When we counted the prisoners that came sneaking out of their holes there were sixty of them, all captured by this lone American soldier from Missouri."

"Well, now, it didn't happen just—" Forrest interrupted.

"Yes it did, too," one of the others spoke up. "He did it himself and he deserves credit for it."

Sergt. George Bush of Troy, Mo., a member of Company D, 354th infantry, is another of the same kind. He, too, wasn't wearing his Distinguished Service Cross, although he carried it in his pocket. Bush was leading half a platoon in the attack on Barricourt. A shell burst near him, knocking him down and sprinkling him with dirt. He jumped up, shook himself and continued. Another burst in front of him, knocking him down once more. Again he jumped to his feet, called to his men and continued. A piece of shrapnel from another shell struck him, and even this didn't stop him. He just kept on going with his men and led them right into the town.

A *Croix de Guerre* was given to Corp. Roy Crane of Palmyra, Mo., for digging three comrades out from under the ruins of a kitchen in Xammes in St. Mihiel sector. A shell hit the kitchen, completely burying the three under the stones, plaster and beams. The boches were laying down a barrage, but Crane jumped out and went to work digging out his comrades.

"JUST A FIGHTIN' FOOL."

Sergt. Roy Anthony of Kansas City wears a Distinguished Service Cross and *Croix de Guerre*. He is a member of Company B. 354th Infantry. He refuses to say why the two medals were given him.

"He's just a fighting fool," one of the men spoke up.

"You bet he is; just a fightin' fool," another reiterated.

That was all that could be learned at the time about Sergeant Anthony. But that seemed to cover the case.

O. P. H.

Wrinkles, a dog owned by Sergt. Archie Boyd of Grant City, Mo., wears two medals for bravery and distinguished service under fire—one bestowed by France and one by Italy. Sergt. Boyd was a sniper and often was sent far in front of

the lines, sometimes into shell holes, and it was here that Wrinkles proved his worth. Messages were carried between the sniper and his commanding officer by Wrinkles. The dog was wounded three times by pieces of shrapnel.

THE MISSOURI MULE IN WAR.

(From *Minneapolis Tribune.*)

Missouri is signally honored. Her mules "made good'. on the western front. They were an indispensable help in winning the war.

The chief witness in behalf of the Missouri mule is the British Army. The witness is unbiased by any considerations of neighborliness. He never was in Missouri. Without intimidation or coercion, of his own free will, he signs the certificate of character.

Cambrai would never be what it is going to be in history if the Missouri mule had not been behind the man behind the gun. He kept the heavy artillery right up to the front with the attacking infantry. He went without his oats and waded through mud and over filled-in shell holes to show that he was game on the side of peace with victory and justice.

The Missouri mule took his share of the gas and shell shock. He slept out o'nights in the rain and cold. He kept his "hee haw" muffled at critical moments. He pulled and pulled—my, how he pulled when put to it.

Who shall say that the mule veterans having proved their stuff by their deeds are not entitled to roam rich pastures in the good old summer time and to hibernate in warm box stalls the rest of their natural lives? It is back to the land, back to the oats and hay for them. They will tell no tales of their prowess, but on many of them always will be the marks of their stewardship in the struggle of titanic forces for good and ill.

ST. LOUISAN DISCOVERER OF POISON GAS CURE.

Highest honor is due Lieut. Julien A. Gehrung, a native of St. Louis. He stands as the discoverer of the treatment for poison gas that was adopted by the French army. Lieut. Gehrung was a medicine Aid Major, first class, of the French army. He was born and reared in St. Louis, and graduated in art at St. Louis University and in medicine at Washington University. His discovery, which was at first based purely on theory, saved thousands of lives and gave sight and hearing to many more.

THE MISSOURI INTELLIGENCER and BOON'S LICK ADVERTISER.*

BY E. W. STEPHENS.

No period of Missouri's history is more intensely interesting than the story of the two decades covering the early settlement of the Boon's Lick country. From 1806, when Nathan and Daniel Boone, sons of Daniel Boone, and possibly the elder Daniel, himself, started the manufacture of salt at the licks in Howard County opposite Arrow Rock and the shipping of it down the Missouri River in keel boats, to 1826, when the *Missouri Intelligencer* was removed from Franklin to Fayette, and Franklin, the magic city of the wilderness, began to yield to the encroachments of the Missouri River, and after ten years

*This article, issued as a bulletin by the School of Journalism at the University of Missouri, was published in connection with the celebration by the Missouri Press Association of the one-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the *Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser*, the first American newspaper west of St. Louis, whose first number was issued on April 23, 1819. The author, E. W. Stephens of Columbia, Mo., is past president of the Missouri Press Association, and was chairman of a special committee named by the association to arrange a centennial celebration at New Franklin on May 9, 1919, commemorating the establishment of this pioneer Missouri newspaper. Mr. Stephens was graduated from the University of Missouri in 1867 and received the honorary degree of LL.D. in 1905.

In preparing this brief history, in which he has confined himself to the period in which the paper bore the name, the *Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser*, the author desires to give due credit for valuable information obtained from the *History of Boone County*, by Colonel William F. Switzler, and from *Nathaniel Patten*, an article in the *Mo. Hist. Review* by Prof. F. F. Stephens of the history department of the University of Missouri; also to Mrs. Anna B. Korn of El Reno, Okla., and to Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

The files of the *Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser*, from its first to its final number, are to be found in the library of the State Historical Society of Missouri in Columbia. So valuable were these files that the society protected the pages of each issue by a Japanese silk covering which does not obscure the reading matter but which makes the paper impervious to wear or water. This was the first newspaper in the United States to be so preserved.

The *Review* kindly acknowledges the courtesy extended it by the School of Journalism in permitting the reproduction of this article together with cuts.

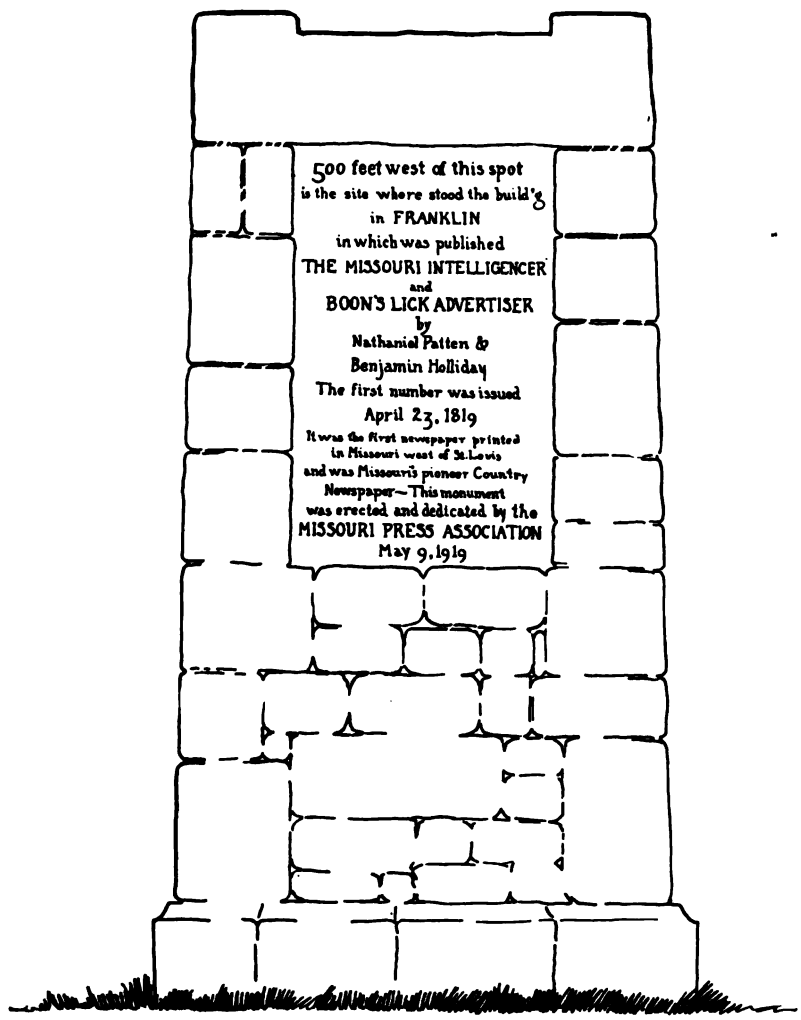
of brilliant history had to fade under the shifting tides of a fickle emigration—this was an era of pioneer settlement and hardship, of chivalry and adventure, of suffering and achievement, the parallel to which is hardly to be found in the history of the state.

The War of Independence had ended less than twenty-five years before, and the Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark expedition had been but three years past, when the oldest and hardiest spirits of Virginia and Kentucky and Tennessee and the Carolinas, the flower of the civilization that had won freedom to the Republic, began to pour into this western El Dorado, lured by the stories of its great rivers, its noble forests, its broad prairies and its exhaustless resources.

The Coopers, Benjamin and Sarshall and Braxton, with other emigrants, came first in 1810, and settled upon the fertile bottoms opposite Boonville. In 1811 the war broke out with the Indians, and the settlers were driven into forts, of which there were some six or seven, all along from the Moniteau to a point opposite the present site of Arrow Rock. The story of these forts, Cooper, Hempstead, McClain, Kincaid, McMahon, Arnold and Head, and perhaps others, and the experiences of their inmates during the four years of war with the savages is a tale of suffering, herosim and romance that would fill a volume and must forever illumine the pioneer history of Missouri.

Peace having been declared in 1815, the tide of emigration flowed in a steady and ceaseless stream. The Boon's Lick trail was blazed, and such was the influx of emigrants that in 1816 Howard County, extending from St. Charles to the western boundary of the state, one-third the present size of Missouri, was organized. A town was laid out upon the Missouri River opposite the present site of Boonville and called Franklin.

The story of Franklin reads like fiction. Within four years it had a population of from 1,200 to 1,500. It had a public square of two acres and streets eighty-seven feet wide. It contained between two hundred and three hundred buildings, among which were five stores, a tobacco factory, two acade-



This monument, the purpose of which is stated in the inscription upon it, has been erected at Kingsbury Station, near the track of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railroad, about one thousand feet from the north end of the bridge across the Missouri River at Boonville. It was paid for by personal contributions of members of the Missouri Press Association. The architect is Mr. Egerton Swartwout of New York City, who was the architect of the Missouri State Capitol. He generously made no charge for his architectural services in designing and preparing the plans and specifications for the monument.

mies, a carding machine, a market house, several churches, four warehouses, a jail and a public library.

Its most notable feature was its population. In culture and ability and public spirit it was distinguished above any other community of its size that has existed in this state. Lawyers, scholars, physicians, educators, business men, artists, artisans of the highest class, many of whom have afterward become eminent in public life in this and other states, were among its citizenship in large numbers, while those who engaged in farming pursuits in the immediate vicinty were no less notable.

The fertility of the soil, as described by the historians of that period, surpass belief. Near by, one Thomas Hardeman laid out a flower and vegetable garden, which in luxuriance and beauty rivaled the most noted in this or other lands.

Franklin was an ambitious and formidable rival of St. Louis. When the capital of the new state was located, Franklin was a strong candidate for that honor, being one of the three of four competitors. It was the seat of goyernment of Howard County from the county's organization in 1816 until the seal was removed to Fayette in 1826.

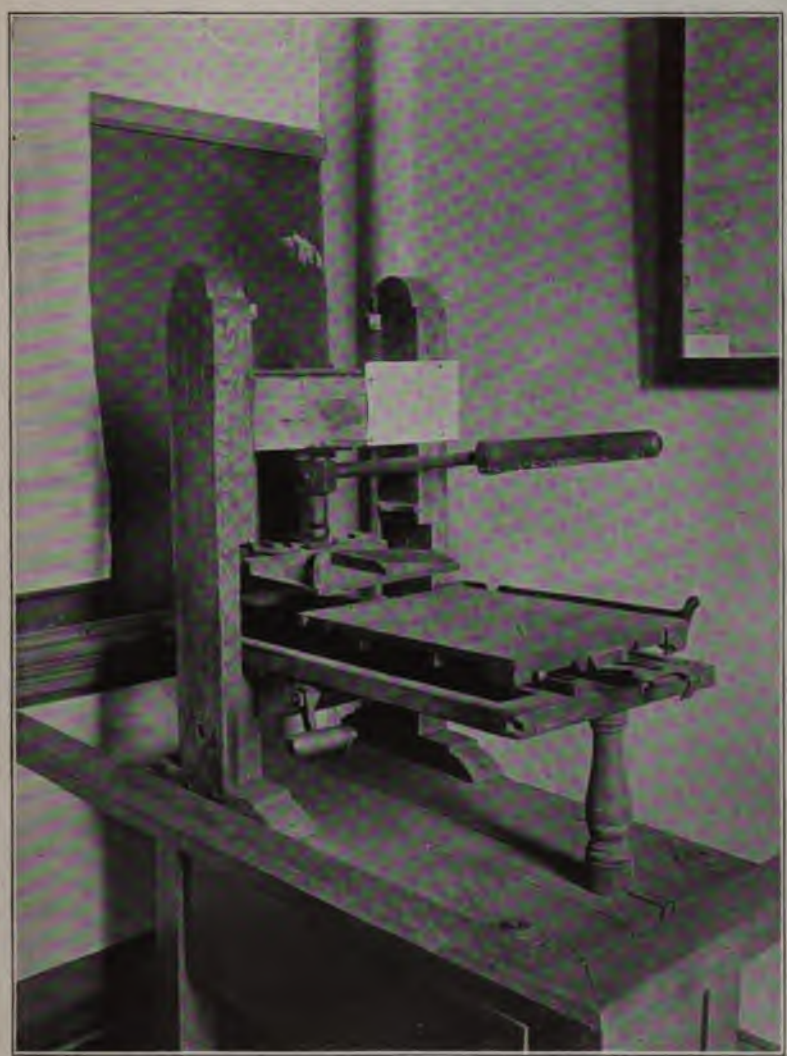
Such was the town to which Benjamin Holliday brought a Ramage printing press and less than five hundred pounds of type with which to start a newspaper in the spring of 1819. Holliday had come to the Boon's Lick country with the Coopers in 1810 and had been an inmate of Cooper's fort during the war. He afterward went to Kentucky. While there he bought the newspaper outfit in Louisville, and with his brother, Stephen Holliday, who was a printer, brought it to Franklin. There upon lot No. 49, which he had bought of Abraham Barns, he erected a frame building and in it he installed his plant. This lot was located 500 feet west of the present line of the M. K. & T. Railroad and about 1500 feet north of the north bank of the Missouri River at this time (1919).

In 1818 there came to Franklin Nathaniel Patten. He was a native of Roxbury, Mass, born in 1793. With his

family he had come to Mount Sterling, Ky., in 1812, where he had separated from them and, probably obsessed with the prevalent passion for the West, had gone alone in 1818 to Franklin. He was a bachelor, 25 years old, very deaf, of delicate mould, small of stature, well educated, of quite nature, of pure morals, conservative, of high ideals, industrious and tenacious in purpose. He had had some experience in the printing business. He was a practical printer and the newspaper business appealed to him. Whether Holliday's purchase of the plant had been at Patten's instance or whether there had been any previous understanding between them is not known. But Patten entered into partnership with Holliday and together they issued the first copy of the newspaper in Franklin on April 23, 1819, and called it the *Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser.*

The paper was set in large faced, long primer and bourgeois type. It consisted of four pages, five columns to a page, and the size of the pages was 12x18 inches. The sheet was 18x24. The total number of ems was 40,000. The presswork for the first six years of the paper's history was excellent. The typographical arrangement was tasteful. The first issue contained three columns of advertisements and seventeen columns of reading matter. The number of columns of advertising was subsequently increased to five and seven.

The first issue contains a column of letters in the post-office, of which there were more than two hundred, signed by August Storrs, postmaster; an account of the ratification by the United States Senate of a treaty with Spain; an announcement of the daily expectation of the arrival of a Yellowstone expedition, consisting of two steamboats, loaded with troops; an article on a prospective stage service from Franklin to St. Louis; a list of toasts at a public dinner at Franklin on the preceding twenty-second of February. A large amount of space is devoted to proceedings in Congress. A notable feature is an absence of local news and of all editorial comment, except a column salutatory.



A Ramage hand printing press, similar to that upon which Benjamin Holliday and Nathaniel Patten "jerked off" the 100 to 400 copies of the Intelligencer which they printed each week. The press illustrated here is on exhibition at the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri. It was built in 1796.

There are advertisements of Dr. J. J. Lowry, practicing physician; of Peter B. Harris, hatter; of W. V. Rector and Lilburn W. Boggs, merchants; of a divorce case; of the sales of land near Franklin, Smithton (the present site of Columbia) and Cote San Dessien; of a list of drugs just received from Baltimore for sale by Dr. N. Hutchinson.

In a subsequent issue of the paper is quite a large advertisement by Patten & Holliday, the newspaper proprietors, of a storage, commission and land agency business in which they had engaged. The newspaper profits evidently not being satisfactory, the new business was found necessary to bolster it up. Among articles offered for sale were 130 barrels of fine flour and a number of barrels of "excellent whiskey." In this advertisement the *Missouri Gazette* (St. Louis) and the *St. Louis Enquirer* are requested to copy the same, these two papers being the only other papers in the state.

The issue of May 28, 1819, contains an announcement of the arrival of the first steamboat that had ever ascended the Missouri River. It was the Independence, Captain Nelson, commander. There was a great public dinner and speeches by Colonel Elias Rector, one of the passengers; Duff Green, J. H. Benson, J. C. Mitchell, Major Thompson Douglass, L. W. Boggs, Stephen Rector, John W. Scudder, Doctor Dawson, Augustus Storrs, J. B. Howard, Major Richard Gentry, L. W. Jordan and Nathaniel Patten.

The same week there also arrived from Frankford, Ky., a keel boat and the two steamboats of the Yellowstone expedition, hitherto announced.

On July 13, 1819, the Western Engineer, a steamboat resembling a sea monster, arrived. It was upon a scientific expedition to the sources of the Missouri. Among the passengers were a number of scientists.

On June 17, 1820, Patten disposed of his one-third interest in the *Intelligencer* to Holliday for $450, but it does not seem that he retired from service. He had been made postmaster, and while in that position lost $200 from bad debts for postage and was robbed of $800, which probably made it necessary for his to recoupe his finances by sale of his interest in the paper.

From June 17, 1820, until May 28, 1821, Holliday appears as sole publisher; then for two months no publisher or editor is mentioned. On July 23, 1821, Holliday resumed charge of the paper and John Payne, a young lawyer, became the editor. Payne died within three months. Holliday continued as publisher until June 18, 1822, when his name disappears from the paper. A month later, July 18, 1822, he disposed of the paper and the building and lot it occupied, to Nathaniel Patten for $1,200. Patten at once took into partnership John T. Cleveland, a school teacher, and these two continued in charge until April 17, 1824, when Cleveland retired. Patten became sole proprietor and so continued until the suspension of the paper in 1835.

Patten removed the paper to Fayette in June, 1826, where for a year John Wilson was editor, Patten continuing as proprietor and publisher. He married Miss Matilda Gaither, an accomplished woman, in 1827. He had the usual editorial wisdom of knowing how to select a wife, but she died in 1829.

Up to that time the *Intelligencer* had been nonpartisan, but the starting of the *Monitor* in Fayette by James H. Birch, an aggressive editor, formerly of the *Enquirer* at St. Louis, and the persistent assaults upon the *Intelligencer* led Patten to change his policy. He came out for John Quincy Adams for President in the bitter contest between Adams and Jackson.

Sensitive in nature and constitutionally averse to newspaper controversy, Patten grew restive under the attacks that were made upon him. This, together with the death of his wife and the fact that his paper was not prosperous financially, led him to accept an attractive proposition from the citizens of Columbia, to move his paper to that town. The last copy of the paper issued in Fayette was dated April 9, 1830. How he succeeded in conducting his paper at all under the adverse conditions with which he had struggled for ten years is beyond explanation. Until he left Franklin the circulation of the *Intelligencer* was only a little more than a hundred subscribers. He increased it about 1826 to 400. The subscription price was $3 in advance, or $4 when paid at the end of the year. It

The only building in Old Franklin which still stands, the rest of the town having been washed away by the Missouri River, which later receded. This brick structure was originally the home of Franklin Academy. It is now used as a residence.

was announced that subscriptions could be paid in wood, corn, flour and vegetables, and especially pork. The price for advertisements was $1 an inch.

Columbia had a population of 600 in 1830. On February 27, 1831, Patten married Mrs. Eliza Holman, widow of Dr. John Holman. They had one son. She assisted her husband in mechanical work upon the paper. After his death she married Major Wilson Overall of St. Charles, by whom she was the mother of three sons.

Patton continued to publish the *Intelligencer* at Columbia until 1835, issuing the last copy of his paper there on December 5 of that year. He removed to St. Charles, where for a year he published the *Clarion*. He died November 24, 1837, at the age of 44, having spent eighteen years as newspaper publisher and proprietor in Central Missouri. He is easily entitled to the honor of having been Missouri's pioneer country editor. In many respects he was a good exemplar to those who have followed him. He published a neat paper typographically and printed it well. There were few typographical errors and the grammar and English were excellent. He got it out on time and regularly, although the difficulties of obtaining paper at such a remote and obscure location where means of transportation were so limited, were great; so much so that at times he was compelled to issue only half a sheet. But he never missed an issue. Mail was not received oftener than once in two weeks and then by horseback. At times it was delayed a month. His thrift, industry, irrepressible tenacity and perseverance were illustrated in that with such a narrow field and meagre income he continued to overcome every obstacle successfully and to pull through without failure or suspension for sixteen years, although his health was poor and the difficulties were almost insurmountable.

Patten had high ideals. The news and editorial and advertising columns were clean and unobjectionable. He never indulged in abuse, although often provoked and despite the fact that the period was one of rancorous political bitterness and

the spirit of the times was characterized by constant animosity and strife.

He was nonpartisan and impartial and managed to steer his course in such way as to provoke few enmities. His paper stood at all times for peace and harmony and purity. In his salutatory in his first number in 1819 he used these words, "Truth being the first principle of virtue, and virtue being the sure basis upon which any government can rest, it will be the first object of this paper to make truth on all occasions its polar star." And he stood by this pronouncement during his whole career.

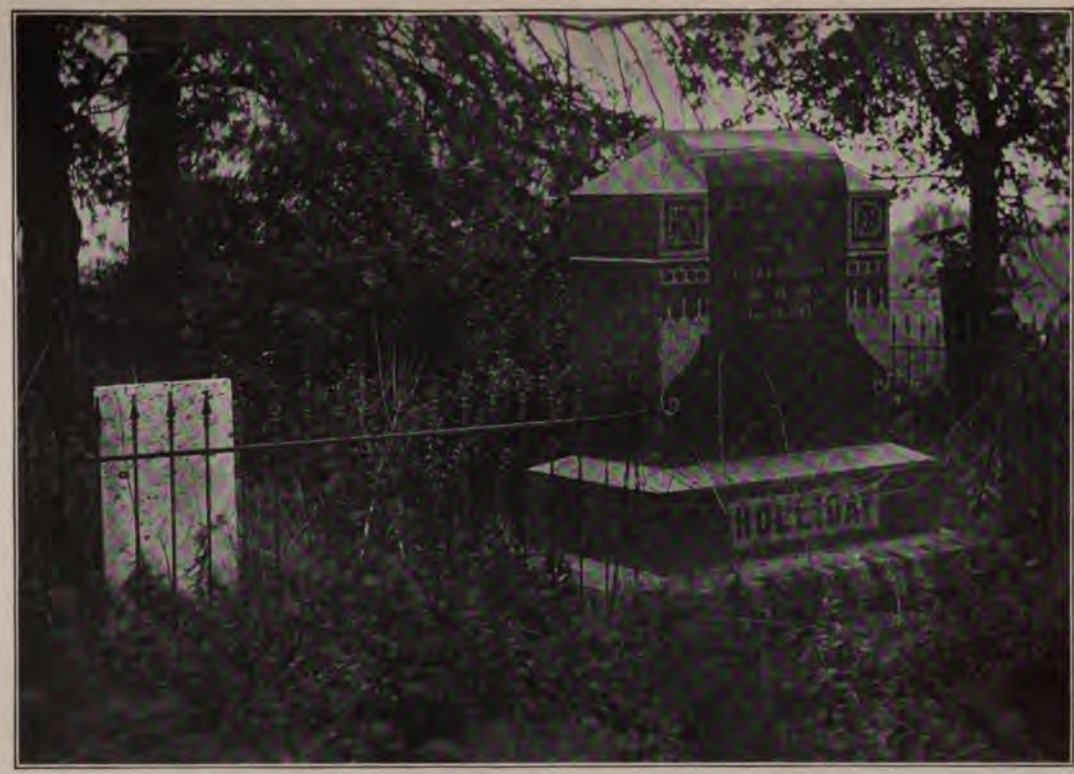
The Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser ran largely to politics. It contained scarcely any editorials, little local news and hardly ever an announcement of a death or a marriage. Mr. Patten was married twice during his management of the *Intelligencer*. He did not announce either one of his marriages. Rarely was there a death notice, and never a personal item, never a piece of poetry. Rarely a flash of humor enlivened its columns. The following attempt at the humorous appears in one issue of the *Intelligencer*. It is the only material of any kind to relieve the dolorous gloom of the paper during all that year. Those were great times for public dinners and for toasts and speeches. The fact that this is in the form of a toast is probably the reason it appealed to the humorous fancy of the editor:

MATHEMATICAL TOAST.

The fair daughters of Columbia
May they add virtue to beauty
Subtract envy from friendship
Multiply amiable accomplishments by sweetness of temper
Divide time by sociability and economy
And reduce scandal to its lowest econimation.

This may have made the "old fellows of those solemn times" laugh, but there is little in it to excite the risibilities of the present day, unless the humor be found in the last word of the toast.

Nearly every part of the paper not occupied by advertisements was given up to reports of proceedings of Congress, to



The grave of Benjamin Holliday, near Boonsboro, Howard County. Holliday was one of the founders of the Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser.

extended speeches, or to anonymous communications. The long-winded orator, usually a member of Congress, would sometimes occupy every reading page, or even consume two editions of the paper.

The anonymous correspondent was in repeated evidence. Many persons wrote for the paper and upon every variety of subject, but rarely would one of them sign his name to what he wrote. Some of these diatribes were fierce, abusive and bitterly personal, but most of them were made from the safe ambuscade of an anonymous name. An interesting feature of this anonymous journalism was the variety of nom de plumes. Here are some of the signatures copied at random: "Gracchus," "Brutus," "Junius," "Epaminondas," "Cato," "Plato,'. "E Pluribus Unum," "Justice," "Many Voters," "Many Citizens," "Fair Play," "Jacobus," "Laocoon," "Fabricious," "A Friend to Truth," "Shinney on Your Own Side," "A Freeman," "Mentor," "Coulter Broadfurrow," "Philo," "Constitutionalist," "Cohu Culpepper," "Darby Buckeye," "Double Trigger," "Bolivar," "Aristides," "One of the People," and so on.

Patton was kept in continual hot water by this use of his paper by those who in this covert manner were venting their spite upon those against whom they held grudges or dislikes. His paper was made a constant maelstrom of venom and envy by those who had not the courage to come out and make their attacks in the open. He was constantly being set upon to divulge their names, but with a mistaken sense of editorial ethics, would not do so until he himself was held responsible for offenses of which he was innocent and about which he had no concern.

Yet those were the days of duelling, when men settled their differences upon the field of honor. The man who refused to do so was set down as a coward. Yet those who would face the pistol or sword in mortal combat had not the courage to place their signatures to their attacks through the newspapers, some of which led to duels afterward. A fine

illustration of the difference between physical and moral courage.

This sort of journalism continued in Missouri with more or less variation for more than fifty years, and even after, as the writer of this has occasion to know to his sorrow, for he himself was the victim of no little of it after he entered journalism. One of the worst features of it was that these cowardly bushwhackers hid behind the editor, who, simpleton that he was, permitted himself to be made the shelter from which they did their firing.

It must be said to the credit of modern journalism that it has taken a great step forward in that it has stopped this absurd and pusillanimous abuse of newspaper columns, and that when a man would attack another, if permitted to do it at all, he is required to do so over his own signature.

Political and personal animosity ran high in those days and the vituperation indulged in through newspapers was characteristic. Some of these writers were masters of English and past masters of invective. In that respect, also, the newspaper of the present day has greatly advanced.

In fact in all respects—editorially, in news, literary quality and ethical standard—there is about the same comparison between the present and the pioneer newspaper as there is between the stage coach and the automobile. Why should it be otherwise? Has not this been the greatest century of progress in all history? Why should not the newspaper have kept pace with it? It has. Even more, it has led it.

But the pioneer journal was a reflex of the age in which it was published, as is the modern journal of the present age. It did its duty fully as well, and more than all other agencies led the way for all that we have today.

When we consider its environment, the difficulties that surrounded it, its immense load of disadvantages, the wonder is that it was published at all. During the sixteen years that the *Missouri Intelligencer* was issued there was not a telegraph, a railroad or a rock road in the state. Its nearest source of supplies was St. Louis, nearly two hundred miles distant, and

the only means of transportation was by ox team over roads that were impassable a third of the year, and by steamboats that were few and far between. Even St. Louis was not a manufacturing center, but purchased type and paper and print-machinery and material from New York or Philadelphia, from which the transportation was as slow and difficult as it was from St. Louis to Franklin.

Prices were high, and money was scarce. Readers were few. While there were some who were cultured and appreciative, there were many who were ignorant. The population was turbulent and passionate, knowing but little of the restraints of law. Party and personal feeling, where the struggle for existence was so intense, was jealous and bitter. The newspaper, being the only medium of public communication, was misused and misunderstood. In such a state of society the editor carried his life in his hands. Local news was scarce and foreign news scarcer, because but little was happening within the small area of population adjacent to its place of publication, while it required more than a month to receive reports from the East, and nearly six months from Europe.

Journalism was in a crude and formative age. The editor had no guide or model, and the school of journalism had not been born in the dreams of the most imaginative.

Under these conditions, in this primitive wilderness, Patten and Holliday started their newspaper, and to it Patten, after Holliday's retirement in three years, clung for thirteen years with a courage and an energy and an intelligence that cannot be too highly honored or too long commemorated.

He deserves to be canonized as the pioneer, the path-finder, the founder, the Moses of country journalism in Missouri.

NO. 7—MISSOURIANS ABROAD.

REAR ADMIRAL ROBERT E. COONTZ, U. S. N.

BY GEO. A. MAHAN.

Some communities produce great men, others great industries, but Hannibal, Missouri, has been favored in both her citizens and her city. Long before this progressive center had realized its crowning glory in having reared and educated America's greatest humorist, her citizens had already attracted somewhat widespread attention. It is not definitely known why her founders, just one hundred years ago dubbed their settlement Hannibal, but the presumption favors the great Punic general. Certainly his resourcefulness is characteristic of his Missouri namesake.

Hannibal's first recognition came with the steamboat. It was known up and down the Mississippi and was even recognized by the National Government as a port of entry. Steamboats landed every day. For blocks its levees bordered the river's banks piled high with tons upon tons of hemp and the products of Hannibal's fourteen tobacco factories. Her position made this inland town one of the greatest emporiums of trade and commerce in the northern Mississippi Valley. The Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad, the first across the State of Missouri, came in the '50s, and Hannibal being its eastern terminus assumed greater importance. When the Boston and New York capitalists of the new railroad visited Hannibal in 1860, they rubbed their eyes in finding this "wild western town" a busy city of 6,000 persons, its streets and homes lighted with gas?

But Hannibal was not content to rest her laurels on the favored position given her by nature. She has a steam railroad leading *from* her boundaries, now she wanted a street railway *within* her boundaries. It was no small undertaking for the reason that other towns of this size in Illinois and

Missouri were not building street railways. It took even Hannibal nearly ten years to completely cover this subject in the press and on the platform. But the Hannibal Street Railway Company was finally incorporated and in less than six months cars began to run from Hill and Main to the junction of Broadway and Market.

Then the problem of keeping a driver of the power—a span of Missouri mules bred true to form and features—confronted the management. The power generated from a Missouri mule decreases with the pull and increases with the push. The drivers on the Hannibal Street Railway system made these discoveries. When the bright yellow car was on the up-grade, it took a strong armed young man to make progress. But the real test came on the down-grade. A Missouri mule may be *coaxed* to pull forward, he has even been *forced* forward at critical moments in history, but no man has ever made him pull a load backward for any considerable distance. The pioneer motor men soon found this out, some to their physical discomfort. As a result, a position once clamored for soon went begging with no applicants forming a line at the employment office.

The son of one of the directors of the company was a lad fifteen years old, "Bob" Coontz. "Bob" applied for the "job" of driver. He easily secured the position and no one ever hinted at influence being behind him. That has been true also thruout his career. "Bob" Coontz has faced some big problems, has filled some attractive positions, and has enjoyed high rank in the United States Navy, but no one has ever hinted at influence. This first "job" as driver of a span of Missouri mules up and down Hannibal's thoroughfares, revealed many of those same traits of character in Robert E. Coontz that have appeared in every position later held by him.

He became a successful driver. He was "promoted" to conductor and he became a successful one. The directors then elected him superintendent and he gave satsifaction. These three positions differed more in honors than in honorium.

They were changes in rank but little in reward. Having exhausted the possibilities of Hannibal's new transportation system, the young man became deputy collector of revenue for Marion county, Missouri. He was then only seventeen years old but he gave the same satisfaction to taxpayers as he had to passengers.

His ambition, however, was along other lines. He wanted to complete the education he had begun in the public schools in Hannibal and at Ingleside College in Palmyra, Missouri. The opportunity to go higher came in 1881 when competitive examination was held in his district for appointment to the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis. Young Coontz stood the test and received the appointment. He entered Annapolis the same year that Crowder graduated at West Point. Four years later, 1885, Coontz graduated, just one year before Pershing had finished at West Point and "Gatling Gun" Parker—another Missourian—had entered the Military Academy. The young mule driver from Hannibal now became active as an officer in the United States Navy.

He was commissioned ensign U. S. Navy on July 1, 1887. He rose to the rank of lieutenant, Jr. grade, on Sept. 3, 1896, and of lieutenant on March 3, 1899. On January 1, 1905, he was promoted to lieutenant commander and on Jan. 7, 1909, to commander. Three years later, on July 1, 1912, he was made a captain and Dec. 24, 1917, reached his present rank of rear admiral.

The service of Rear Admiral Coontz in the United States Navy has been performed chiefly in the Pacific. For six years he served in the Alaskan waters and became a proficient pilot there. He was executive officer of the Nebraska on the voyage of the fleet around the world in 1908. In 1910-11 he was commandant of mid-shipmen at the U. S. Naval Academy. In 1912-13 he served as Governor of the Island of Guam and performed his duties with such justice and fairness that when he left he was given a great ovation by the people of the Island. He was commanding officer of the Georgia in 1913-15 and won the fleet gunnery trophy. On July 20, 1915, he was appointed commandant of the Navy Yard at Puget Sound.

REAR ADMIRAL ROBERT E. COONTZ.

Besides his successive rises in rank in the Navy, Rear Admiral Coontz has been signally honored by his government. He received a medal for his services during the Spanish-American War and one for services during the Philippine Insurrection. This is a record of which the people of Missouri and of the Nation at large are proud. In his home city of Hannibal, which Rear Admiral Coontz frequently visits, he is held in the very highest esteem. He is known by all as "Bob" Coontz and loves to be called by that name. He is now and always has been a genial, kind-hearted and faithful citizen.

Rear Admiral Coontz is an American by ancestry and service, a Missourian by birth and rearing. Five generations ago, three of his ancestors served under Washington in the Revolutionary Army. The earliest member of the family settled in Maryland in 1673 and later emigrated to Virginia. His grandfather, R. E. Coontz, a native of Jefferson county, Va., emigrated to Missouri and settled at Florida, Monroe county, in 1836. It is a curious coincidence that just one year earlier in this same little Missouri hamlet, had been born a boy who was to become known the world over as "Mark Twain". Here also on May 26, 1838, was born Benton Coontz, father of Robert E., next door to the birth place of "Mark Twain." In 1842 the Coontz family moved to Ralls county, Mo., and in 1844 came to Hannibal, the Clemens family moving to Hannibal the same year.

Benton Coontz was a man of industry. At the age of twelve he learned rope-making and later chopped wood at fifty cents a cord. He became a storekeeper, then postmaster. Like his son, Robert E., Benton Coontz wanted to have an education. He finally saved enough to permit his going to Ohio where he graduated at Bacon College. He worked as "cub" pilot, then as a leather dealer, and finally became associated in a number of business enterprises in Hannibal. He served several terms as county collector and one as mayor of Hannibal. Every enterprise for the benefit and improvement of his town and county always had a firm and strong supporter in Benton Coontz.

The most famous member of the family is Rear Admiral Robert E. Coontz. He was born in Hannibal on June 11, 1864. He was the son of Benton and Mary Brewington Coontz. His grandmother, Elizabeth Lucas Coontz, emigrated from Virginia to Missouri by way of Ohio, and died in Ralls county, Missouri, in 1843. Five generations of the Coontz family lie buried in Missouri. For nearly two hundred and fifty years this native American family has served to upbuild the Nation. For nearly one hundred years by honest industry and patriotic service it has reflected credit and glory on the good name of Missouri. Well can her citizens take pride in such a record.

THE LAWYER IN MISSOURI ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

Response of the late Judge Jno. F. Philips at the Inauguration Banquet of the Centennial of Missouri's Admission into the Union, Columbia, Missouri, January 8, 1918:

Mr. Toastmaster, Ladies and Gentlemen: When I was notified that I had been assigned to the toast of "The Lawyer in Missouri One Hundred Years Ago," my first thought was that the committee of arrangements had confounded me with the original John Philips who settled in this county in 1817. And when I read the entire programme of this possum oratorical feast to-day, I concluded that I had been drafted into a company of centenarians. But my curiosity was excited by the expectation of seeing and hearing two women, one to present a picture, in *propria persona*, of a woman in Missouri one hundred years ago, and the other who taught school in St. Louis when Lewis and Clark organized their expedition for the exploration of the waters of the Missouri to their then unknown source. When they appeared, however, on the stage I discovered that if they are not "in the May of youth and the bloom of lustihood", yet the luster had not faded from their eyes nor the summer roses ceased to bloom on their cheeks, and that in fact they are very much up to date. Here, however, is our Toastmaster, Captain, Colonel, Professor, Merchant White, who was the first Chief of the Missouri tribe of Indians. He robs me of the conceit of having been born 83 years ago, so close to the lawyers of one hundred years ago as to be the depository of many of the traditions and much of the unwritten history of the pioneers. Indeed, he makes me feel positively adolescent; so that my yesterday is to him but "the evidence of things not seen, the substance of things hoped for."

One hundred years ago, Howard county was the biggest thing, territorially, in Missouri. It was like the description given by the Texas cattle baron of his ranch. He said that

when he rode "the round up", he "circumbiated the circumference of infinitude."

Old Franklin, about fourteen miles west of my father's home, was the Capitol of the County. It was founded amid the sand duns of the Missouri River, whose ravenous maw soon swallowed it up. It was the Eldorado to which professional and merchant men turned their eager steps. Hither came two young men who were destined to become the most noted lawyers of the state, Abiel Leonard and Hamilton R. Gamble; the former from far off New England, the other from Virginia. They were in the midnight of buoyant manhood, with no endowment but their intellects, and no other reliance than their brave hearts and indomitable will. Both held collegiate masterships. Leonard became the village schoolmaster to earn bread and bed. The evenings he spent in tracing out the paths over which shone the gladsome light of jurisprudence. He was of small stature, with a lionel voice, yet suave and kindly in intercourse, but the tiger lay dormant in his breast, dangerous when aroused. When the county seat was removed to Fayette, he went with it, and never had any other home. The episode of his encounter with one Captain Berry, resulting in a deadly duel, is to be judged of by the spirit of the times in which it occurred. Berry was somewhat like the description given by the old colored deacon of his new preacher, "a little pompious, and imposious, usurpious and circumposious." For words spoken by Leonard in an address to the jury, Berry, assuming that because Leonard was a Yankee, he wouldn't fight, waylaid him in the court house yard and cowhided him as he would have done to one of his slaves who offended him. Had Leonard not resented such an affront, to the death, if need be, he would have had no admirers and few clients in that community.

For over two score years, Mr. Leonard stood at the forefront of his profession. He had no superior as an all round lawyer in Missouri. His tremenduous ability and deep learning preferred him to the Supreme bench of the State; and some

of his opinions will ever designate him as one of the great jurists of America.

Such was the precocity and character of Hamilton R. Gamble that in his comparative young life he became prosecuting attorney of the vast region covered by Howard county, and won distinction. He became secretary to Governor Frederick Bates. Governor Bates dying soon after his term began, Gamble went to St. Louis, where, amid a bright galaxy of lawyers, he became a fixed star of first magnitude. Like Judge Leonard, under similar conditions, he went upon the Supreme bench of the State, and shed a luster upon it, time has not dimmed. Because of ill health, he retired to private life. But when the war clouds began to gather in our southern sky, the legislature called a convention of representative men to take into consideration the relations of the state to the Federal Union. The eyes of the thoughtful, serious men in St. Louis turned to Hamilton R. Gamble, as supremely fitted to represent them in such a grave crisis. Reluctantly he yielded to his patriotic sense of duty; and he became the great conservative, preservative force in guiding the ship of state through the stormy sea. There is where I first got close enough to him to see the outlines of his vastness as a lawyer and statesman.

The state being without an executive head, almost in a condition of civil anarchy, the convention persuaded Mr. Gamble to accept the office of provisional Governor. Amid scenes of turbulence, hot passion and the red fool fury of factional strife, spreading distraction all round him, with grim determination to bring order out of confusion, to substitute law for the sword, and the courts for the provost marshal, with eyes never deflected from the pathway of high duty, he stood at his post, and died with his armor on.

There was another distinguished lawyer, named French, contemporary with Leonard and Gamble at old Franklin. He had an acute, strained sense of personal honor, which embroiled him with another lawyer, and resulted in an appeal to the *code duello*. Leonard and Gamble were chosen

as the respective seconds of the combatants. An island in the Mississippi River, near Louisiana in Pike county, was selected as the battle ground. Across the state the parties, separately, rode horse back to Louisiana. As there was only one hostelry in the village, all put up there for the night. As was the custom, the principals with their seconds, repaired to the hotel saloon for the elixir for the weary. Taking positions at either end of the counter, the belligerents looked defiance at each other through the bottom of the glasses. A second libation quickly followed, when, by some strange force of involuntary movement, the parties reached the center of the bar counter. A third round was proposed by one of the seconds, which was accepted by all. And, lo, and behold, the devil that is supposed to sit grinning in the bottom of the glass vanished, and the angel of peace sat on the rim smiling, and the war was off.

Old Franklin had other crowns of glory in those days. It gave to this county, Boone, its first circuit judge, a lawyer of wide fame, David Todd. He and his brother, Robt. North Todd, were the progenitors of the families that so long graced the civic, professional and social life of this classic city.

There also resided Lilburn W. Boggs, afterwards governor of the state, who died in the mid day of his promise.

St. Louis, the metropolis of the northern Louisiana purchase, was the magnet that drew to its battalions of distinguished lawyers. Thomas H. Benton, whom I saw and heard came as a stormy petrel, and soon became a striding collossus. By profession he was a lawyer, by practice a politician. Between fighting a duel and pulling the wires to get into the United States Senate, his career as a lawyer was obscured by his great achievements in statesmanship.

One biographical historian tells us that David Barton began his brilliant career at Old Franklin and was the first judge of the Howard County circuit. Another tells us that he began at St. Louis, and became its first circuit judge. But let those "boroughs" contend for Homer dead, David Barton was great enough to cover all with his mantle of his

fame. He was president of the convention that adopted Missouri's first state constitution. He was one of the great factors in substituting for the Civil Code of laws the common law in Missouri. He was the first United States Senator from Missouri, its foremost citizen and lawyer, although the encyclopedia makers a quarter of a century ago did not find a place for a name so full of glorious achievements. I stood a short time ago at his grave in the beautiful Walnut Grove Cemetery at Boonville, Missouri. As I beheld the magnificent monuments erected there to men of provincial quality, and then looked at the humble, crumbling stone that marks the resting place of David Parton, the thought came that true greatness needs no imposing mausoleum to perpetuate its fame.

Henry S. Geyer for half a century stood in the forefront of lawyers in St. Louis, and represented the state in the United States Senate with distinguished honor.

As I must be brief, without making invidious distinctions, I feel warranted in designating as *clarum et venerabile nomen*, Edward Bates, who left the imprint of his name written in letters of gold on the archives of the state. He helped it to put aside its territorial garb, and stood at its christening as a state. He was a Virginian, the brother-in-law of Hamilton R. Gamble. He was the first Attorney-General of the state, and the first Attorney-General of the United States under the administration of President Lincoln. His mind was "a perfect field of cloth of gold." He possessed a vast wealth of learning. His mental tastes and ambition made him toil in the fundamental principles of the law and the science of government.

Early in my professional carrer, I had occasion to read a brief from his pen before the Supreme Court; the thought and philosophy of which ought to be burnt into the public mind, in these days when legislators and ministers at the seats of power, distempered with frenzy, disregard the sacred personal liberties of the citizen. It was the revivification and amplification of Thomas Jefferson's pronouncement in the preamble to the Declaration of American Independence, that "all men

are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness." With burning words and impassioned earnestness, he maintained that there are personal privileges and rights that depend upon no human statutes, or organic acts of government, but they exist inherent in our manhood; and whenever and wherever government or society undertake to invade this domain, they make for despotism, no matter what the pretext, whether under the guise of the supposed exigency of government or the frenzied fancy of the sociologist.

In those days the lawyer, as a rule, was "hand picked," not machine made. I have known some lawyers of whom it was said "they could neither read, spell or write," who were quire formidable, if they could get beyond the court to the jury, with the applause of the onlooking, hungry eyed rabble. But their notoriety came from committing assaults and batteries on grammar and rhetoric in the very temple of Justice. The conception the ancients had of the real lawyer was that he should be an educated man. I knew lawyers of the old school who were as familiar with Plato, Aristotle and Longinus as they were with Littleton, Coke and Blackstone; who comprehended the arguments of Demosthenes, Tully and Cicero as they did the *rationale* of the opinions of the great jurists of England and America. They regarded the law as a science; and its practice as the noblest calling that ever appealed to the ambition of intellectual man. They had few books, but they mastered them. Believing with Lord Coke that "out of the old fields cometh all this new corn of modern jurisprudence," they put to practice what Montesquieu said, "when I discovered my first principles, everything I sought for appeared." Thus they solved the many intricate questions growing out of the passing from territorial to state existence, the tenure of land titles emanating from Spanish grants and the national government, and the power of the legislature, territorial and state, to enact certain statutes. If the lawyer or the judge could not find a precedent, they adopted the motto of the pick axe on the dial, "I will find a way or make one."

Today we have multitudes of lawyers and judges who expend their time and energies in hunting up some allied case through the reports, from the tomes of the Inns of court in London to Biscay and Bombay, fron New England to New Mexico, and from Amsterdam to "Ubedam." And if they do not find one, *ipssisime verbis*, on all fours with the case in hand, they are all at sea. Such men are mere floaters, not swimmers. Like a man with palsy, they live half dead.

One hundred years ago, the shyster was almost an unknown "cuss" in Missouri. There is something about our boasted civilization that breeds the shyster. I suppose this stands to the law of natural creation. There are more flies than eagles. A single maggot will generate myriads of flies. The fly has such a vile stomach, it finds in the offal, the excrescence of overwrought civilization, so much to feed and batton on; while the eagle that nests in the lofty cedar top, or its aerie, spreads wing on the upper air, and the game on which it feeds is harder to catch, with more power of resistance. Hence it is that we have swarms of shysters today who "rescue a gentleman's estate from his enemies and keep it themselves;" who enter into copartnership with the client with the concealed purpose of becoming the surviving partner. To rescue the profession from such ravishers is the knighthood of the true lawyers calling.

There are lawyers who must have learned their ethics from pious old Peggy Lobb, who enjoined on her hopeful son, Paul, when he was leaving the parental roof to go out into the world: "My child, stick to your sitivation in life; read your Bible, study your kittychism, and talk like a pious one, for people goes more by what you says than by what you does. If you wants anything that is not your own, try and do without it, but if you can't do without it, take it by insinivation, and not bluster, for they as steals gets more and risks less than they as robs; for of sich is the Kingdom of heaven."

In reading anew the other evening the travails of the Israelites in Egypt, the thought occurred, that if the good Lord, in sending the afflications of bloody water, bloody

murrain, locusts, flies and lice upon the Egyptians to compel Pharaoh to let the Israelites depart the land, had only sent upon them swarms of shysters to foment among them petty strifes, and despoil them of their jewels, flocks, cattle and corn, in the way of fees, old Pharaoh, at the first onslaught, would have exclaimed: 'I give up, go Moses, and don't stand upon the order of your going." Thus Pharaoh might have escaped the cataclysm of the Red Sea, being better occupied in throwing the shysters into the Nile.

Mr. Toastmaster: As to-night we lift the veil from the sepulchers of the sturdy pioneers, who trampled down the wild briars and bull nettles, and opened up the primeval forests to let in the light of a higher civilization, who struggled so long and hard to break through the chrysalis of territorial existence, to breathe the inspiring sense of statehood, let not the fact be unrecognized that one of the great factors in bringing about the long wished for consummation were the lawyers of one hundred years ago. I could crave no brighter halo for the sunset glow of life than to witness the crowning of the brow of my native State with the Centennial wreath.

One minute more and I will relieve you. The Missourian is a fighting man. He is like what Sam Cox said of the Irishman, "He is never at peace except when in a fight." In all of our national wars, the Missourians have been heroes in the strife. They formed the rank and file of that untiring, dauntless band that followed the plume of Col. Richard Gentry through the Everglades of Florida, and put to inglorious flight the fierce Seminole Indians. They made up that immortal regiment of Doniphan's expedition that marched across the desert wastes from Fort Leavenworth to the Rio Grande River, and on through the sands and cactus of Mexico to Chihuahua, and planted our flag on its capitol. They helped to carry it through the land of the Aztec to his ancient capitol, and unfurled it from the Castle of Chopultepec. The only time they divided in devotion to the nation's flag was in the Civil War, when about 70,000 followed the flag of the Stars and Bars, and about 110,000 stuck to the old Star

Spangled Banner, and they made a record glorious in courage and fortitude.

Today the old flag catches the glint of the woodman's axe in the pineries of Maine, and reflects the flash of the fisherman's spear at the Aelutian Islands; while the sunlight of the Orient gleams in its folds. More wonderful still, have I lived to realize that the American flag is being carried across the Atlantic Ocean to be unfurled on the continent of Europe amid the powder-smoke and grime of the bloodiest, most horrible war that ever cursed the civilized world. My heart goes with it, because it is borne by our blue-eyed, bright-faced boys, the flower and chivalry of American young manhood. My prayer is that the old flag, with all its glorious memories, may come back to its own country, and its own home, its stars speaking of the crests of victory, its stripes of the blood of sacrifice and its azure field of the peace of Heaven.

STORIES RELATING TO JUDGE PHILIPS.

Judge D. P. Dyer, of St. Louis, after receiving the news of Judge Philips' death, related this incident in his career, which was one of prominence as a lawyer, judge and soldier:

"Judge Philips was holding court in Springfield, Mo.," Judge Dyer said, "when a man who had been adjudged guilty of cutting timber from Government land came before him for sentence. The convicted man was inclined to be 'fresh' and a 'smart Alec.'

" 'I fine you $100,' Judge Philips began.

" 'That's all right, Judge,' the prisoner said, 'I've got the $100 in my pants' pocket.'

" 'And six months in jail,' Judge Philips concluded. 'Have you got that in your pants' pocket too?' "

While Judge Philips was on the Federal bench in Jefferson City, a man was indicted for sending a letter through the mail for immoral purposes. He plead guilty, and in sentencing

him, Judge Philips used this strong language: "The United States has spent millions of dollars in building up its mail service, and it has the most perfect service of any country on the globe. But this mail service was established and maintained for the purpose of enabling respectable people to engage in respectable correspondence; it is no part of our country's purpose to aid lecherous libertines in the prosecution of their immoral desires. For this offense, your fine is two hundred and fifty dollars; but for a second like offense, you may expect a prison sentence."—Related by Hon. N. T. Gentry, Columbia.

Two small boys plead guilty in Judge Philips' court to burglarizing a country postoffice and stealing some postage stamps. When Judge Philips looked at them carefully, saw their ragged and unkept condition, and when he learned that they were orphans and could neither read nor write, he said, "I don't care if they did commit a serious crime, I am not going to keep them in jail—they have been there too long already. If some good man can be found who is willing to take care of these two little strays, I will turn them over to him." A man on the jury volunteered to give them a home, and Judge Philips paroled the boys to him. Before they left, Judge Philips came down off of the bench, and, in a most friendly way, gave the boys some good advice; he told them of the disgrace and ruin connected with the pursuit of crime; and then urged them to make men out of themselves, go to work, attend school and be useful and respectable citizens. The boys promised, they made good, and their reformation dates from that hour.—Related by Hon. N. T. Gentry, Columbia.

One of his epigrams delivered from the bench which became much quoted was made in connection with a lawyer's motion for an entry of *nunc pro tunc*. "I see your *nunc*, all right," Philips remarked, "but where's your *tunc*?"

On another occasion he was hearing a bootlegging case in which the chief witness was an Indian who professed ignorance of English. After several attempts to get replies, Judge Philips turned to the marshal and said: "Take this Indian out and shoot him."

"Me understand," broke in the Indian.

Judge Philips strongly opposed the building of a soldier's memorial that would be utilitarian and which he declared "the women would be giving bazars in, within a few years."

"My friends are to me the most vital thing in my life" Judge Philips frequently declared.

"I was born on the last day of the month in the last month of the year, the last child of a large family, and Finish is very appropriately my middle name," he often remarked.

Judge Philips always declared his favorite author was Nick Carter. He said he read detective stories as a relief from the mental fatigue of the bench.

EARLY DAYS ON GRAND RIVER AND THE MORMON WAR.

ROLLIN J. BRITTON.

THIRD ARTICLE.

THE MORMONS EXPELLED TROM DAVIESS COUNTY.

On November 6, 1838, the Governor wrote General Clark, authorizing and directing him to hold a Military Court of inquiry in Daviess county. The order read as follows:

"It will also be necessary that you hold a Military Court of inquiry in Daviess county, and arrest the Mormons who have been guilty of the late outrages committed towards the inhabitants of said county. My instructions to you are to settle this whole matter completely, if possible, before you disband your forces. If the Mormons are disposed voluntarily to leave the State, of course it would be advisable in you to promote that object in any way deemed proper. The ringleaders of their rebellion, though ought by no means to be permitted to escape the punishment they merit." (*Millenial Star* Vol. 16, pp. 555-556.)

General Clark ordered Brigadier General Robert Wilson to Adam-ondi-Ahman for the purpose of this inquiry.

General Wilson arrived at Adam-ondi-Ahman November 8, 1838, and immediately put a guard around the town, with instructions to allow no person to pass in or out without permission. He then put every man in town under guard and instituted a court of inquiry with Adam Black, before mentioned, on the bench, and a soldier of General Clark's command acting as Prosecuting Attorney. After three days investigation every man was by this court "honorably acquitted".

After this acquittal General Wilson issued an order that every family must be out of town within ten days, with permission to go to Caldwell county for the winter, then to leave the State under pain of extermination. Here is a specimen of the permits granted to men against whom a charge had been sustained.

"I permit David Holman to remove from Daviess to Caldwell County, there to remain during the winter, or to pass out of the State.

R. Wilson, Brigadier General,
By F. G. C., Aid."

November 10, 1838.

There was an agreement made between the mob and the saints by which the latter could obtain their stock with the consent of their opponents. The agreement was as follows:

1. That the Mormon Committee be allowed to employ, say twenty teamsters for the purpose of hauling of their property.

2. That the Mormon Committee collect whatever stock they may have in Daviess County at some point, and some two or three of the Daviess County Committee be notified to attend for the purpose of examining said stock, and convey or attend the Mormon Committee out of the limits of the county, and it is further understood that the Mormon Committee is not to drive or take from this county any stock of any description at any other time nor under any other circumstances than these mentioned.

As witness our hands:

William P. Peniston,
Dr. K. Kerr,
Adam Black,
Committee.

The above propositions were made and agreed to by the undersigned committee on the part of the Mormons.

William Hunnington,
B. S. Wilber,
J. H. Hale,
Henry, Herriman, Z. Wilson.

(*Millenial Star*, Vol. 16, pp. 566, 567.)

At this time a citizen of Clay county, wrote the following letter to members of the legislature:

"M. Arthur, Esq., to the Representatives from Clay County:

Liberty, November 29, 1838.

" Respected Friends: Humanity to an injured people prompts me at present to address you thus: You were aware of the treatment (to some extent before you left home) received by that unfortunate race of beings called the Mormons, from Daviess, in the form of human beings inhabiting Daviess, Livingston and a part of Ray County; not being satisfied with the relinquishment of all their rights as citizens and human beings, in the treaty forced upon

them by General Lucas, by giving up their arms and throwing themselves upon the mercy of the State and their fellow citizens generally, hoping thereby protection of their lives and property, are now receiving treatment from those demons that makes humanity shudder, and the cold chills run over any man not entirely destitute of any feeling of humanity.

"The demons are now constantly strolling up and down Caldwell County, in small companies armed, insulting the women in any and every way and plundering the poor devils of all the means of subsistence (scanty as it was) left them, and driving off their horses, cattle, hogs, etc., and rifling their houses and farms of everything therein, taking beds, bedding, wardrobe, and all such things as they see they want, leaving the poor Mormons in a starving and naked condition.

"These are facts I have from authority that cannot be questioned, and can be maintained and substantiated at any time. There is now a petition afloat in our town, signed by the citizens of all parties and grades, which will be sent you in a few days praying the legislature to make some speedy enactment applicable to their case. They are entirely willing to leave our State as soon as this inclement season is over, and a number have already left, and are eaving daily, scattering themselves to the four winds of the earth.

"Now, sirs, I do not want by any means to dictate to you the course to be pursued, but one fact I will merely suggest, I this day was conversing with Mr. George M. Pryer, who is just from Far West, relating the outrages there committed daily. I suggested to him the propriety of the legislature's placing a guard to patrol the lines of Caldwell County, say about twenty-five men, and give them, say about a dollar or one and a half per day, each man, and find their provisions, etc., until say the first day of June next; these men rendering that protection necessary to the Mormons and allowing them to follow and bring to justice any individuals who have heretofore or will hereafter be guilty of plundering or any violation of the laws. I would suggest that George M. Pryer be appointed captain of said guard and that he will be allowed to raise his own men, if he is willing thus to act. He is a man of correct habits, and will do justice to all sides and render due satisfaction.

"Should this course not be approved of, I would recommend the restoration of the arms for their own protection. One or the other of these suggestions is certainly due the Mormons from the State. She has now their leaders prisoners, to the number of fifty or sixty, and I apprehend no danger from the remainder in any way until they will leave the State.

M. Arthur."

(*Millenial Star*, Vol. 16, pp. 565-566.)

VIEW LOOKING UP STREAM FROM WIGHT'S FERRY.

(Courtesy *Journal of History*, Lamoni, Iowa.)

VIEW LOOKING DOWN STREAM FROM WIGHT'S FERRY.

(Courtesy *Journal of History*, Lamoni, Iowa.)

On December 10, 1838, a committee appointed by the Mormons petitioned the Legislature as follows:

"To the Honorable Legislature of the State of Missouri, in Senate and House of Representatives convened:

"We the undersigned, petitioners and inhabitants of Caldwell county, Missouri, in consequence of the late calamity that has come upon us, taken in connection with former afflictions, feel it a duty we owe to ourselves and our country to lay our case before your honorable body for consideration. It is a well known fact that a society of our people commenced settling in Jackson County, Missouri, in the summer of 1831, where they, according to their ability, purchased lands and settled upon them, with the intention and expectation of becoming permanent citizens in common with others.

"Soon after the settlement began, persecution began, and as the society increased, persecution also increased, until the society at last was compelled to leave the county, and although an account of these persecutions has been published to the world, yet we feel that it will not be improper to notice a few of the most prominent items in this memorial.

"On the 20th of July, 1833, a mob convened at Independence, a committee of which called upon a few of the men of our church there and stated to them that the store, printing office, and indeed all other mechanic shops must be closed forthwith, and the society leave the county immediately. These propositions were so unexpected that a certain time was asked for to consider on the subject before an answer should be returned, which was refused, and our men being individually interrogated each one answered that he could not consent to comply with their proposition. One of the mob replied that he was sorry, for the work of destruction would commence immediately.

"In a short time the printing office, which was a two story building, was assailed by the mob and soon thrown down, and with it much valuable property destroyed. Next they went to the store for the same purpose, but Mr. Gilbert, one of the owners, agreeing to close it, they abandoned their design. Their next move was their dragging of Bishop Partridge from his house and family to the public square, where, surrounded by hundreds, they partially stripped him of his clothes and tarred and feathered him from head to foot. A man by the name of Allen was also tarred at the same time. This was Saturday and the mob agreed to meet the following Tuesday to accomplish their purpose of driving or massacring the society.

"Tuesday came, and the mob came also, bearing with them a red flag in token of blood. Some two or three of the principal men

of the society offered their lives if that would appease the wrath of the mob, so that the rest of the society might dwell in peace upon their lands. The answer was, that unless the society would leave enmasse, every man should die for himself. Being in a defenseless situation, to save a general massacre, it was agreed that one-half of the society should leave the county by the first of the next January, and the remainder by the first of the following April.

"A treaty was entered into and ratified, and all things went on smoothly for awhile. But sometime in October the wrath of the mob began again to be kindled, insomuch that they shot at some of our people, whipped others, and threw down their houses, and committed many other depredations. Indeed the society of saints were harrassed for some time, both day and night; their houses were brickbatted and broken open—women and children insulted, etc. The store house of A. S. Gilbert and Co. was broken open, ransacked, and some of the goods strewed in the streets.

"These abuses, with many others of a very aggravated nature, so stirred up the indignant feelings of our people that when a party of them, say about thirty, met a company of the mob of about double their number, a skirmish took place in which some two or three of the mob and one of our people were killed. This raised as it were the whole country in arms—and nothing would satisfy them but an immediate surrender of the arms of our people and they forthwith to leave the county.

"Fifty-one guns were given up, which have never been returned or paid for to this day. The next day parties of the mob from fifty to seventy, headed by priests, went from house to house threatening women and children with death if they were not off before they returned. This so alarmed them that they fled in different directions; some took shelter in the woods, while others wandered in the prairies till their feet bled. In the meantime, the weather being very cold, their sufferings in other respects were very great.

"The society made their escape to Clay County, where the people received them kindly and administered to their wants. After the society had left Jackson county, their buildings, amounting to about two hundred, were either burned or otherwise destroyed; and much of their crops, as well as furniture, stock, etc., which, if properly estimated, would make a large sum, for which they have not as yet received any remuneration.

"The Society remained in Clay County nearly three years; when at the suggestion of the people there, they removed to that section of the country now known as Caldwell County. Here the people purchased out most of the former inhabitants, and also entered much of the wild land. Many soon owned a number of

REMAINS OF GROVE WHERE ADAM-ONDI-AHMAN STAKE WAS ORGANIZED, 1838.

(Courtesy *Journal of History*, Lamoni, Iowa.)

RESIDENCE OF LYMAN WIGHT AT ADAM-ONDI-AHMAN IN 1838.

The lean-to on end of building is not a part of original residence.

(Courtesy *Journal of History*, Lamoni, Iowa.)

eighties, while there was scarcely a man that did not secure to himself at least a forty. Here we were permitted to enjoy peace for a season; but as our society increased in numbers and settlements were made in Daviess and Carroll Counties, the mob spirit spread itself again.

"For months previous to our giving up our arms to General Lucas' army, we heard little else than rumors of mobs collecting in different places and threatening our people.

"It is well known that the people of our church, who had located themselves at DeWitt, had to give up to a mob and leave the place, notwithstanding the militia were called out for their protection.

"From DeWitt the mob went towards Daviess County, and while on their way there they took two of our men prisoners, and made them ride upon the cannon, and told them that they would drive the Mormons from Daviess to Caldwell, and from Caldwell to hell; and that they would give them no quarter, only at the Cannon's mouth.

"The threats of the mob induced some of our people to go to Daviess to help to protect their brethren who had settled at Diahman on Grand River. The mob soon fled from Daviess County; and after they were dispersed and the cannon taken, during which times no blood was shed, the people of Caldwell retired to their homes in hopes of enjoying peace and quiet; but in this they were disappointed, for a large mob was soon found to be collecting on the Grindstone (fork of Grand River), from ten to fifteen miles off, under the command of Cornelius Gillium, a scouting party of which came within four miles of Far West and drove off stock belonging to our people, in open daylight.

"About this time word came to Far West that a party of the mob had come to Caldwell County, to the South of Far West that they were taking horses and cattle, burning houses, and ordering the inhabitants to leave their homes immediately; and that they had then actually in their possession three men prisoners.

"This report reached Far West in the evening and was confirmed about midnight. A company of about sixty men went forth under the command of David W. Patten, to disperse the mob, as they supposed. A battle was the result in which Captain Patten and two of his men were killed and others wounded. Bogart, it appears, had but one killed and others wounded. Notwithstanding the unlawful acts committed by Captain Bogart's men previous to the battle, it is now asserted and claimed that he was regularly ordered out as a Militia Captain to preserve the peace along the line of Ray and Caldwell Counties.

"That battle was fought four or five days previous to the arrival of General Lucas and his army about the time of the battle with Captain Bogart a number of our people who were living near Haun's Mill, on Shoal Creek, about twenty miles below Far West, together with a number of emigrants who had been stopped there in consequence of the excitment, made an agreement with the mob which was about there, that neither party should molest the other, but dwell in peace. Shortly after this agreement was made a mob party of from two to three hundred, many of whom are supposed to be from Chariton County, some from Daviess, and also those who had agreed to dwell in peace, came upon our people there, whose number in men was about forty, at a time they little expected any such thing, and without any ceremony, notwithstanding they begged for quarter, shot them down as they would tigers or panthers. Some few made their escape by fleeing. Eighteen were killed and a number more were severely wounded.

"This tragedy was conducted in the most brutal and savage manner. An old man, after the massacre was partially over threw himself into their hands and begged for quarter, when he was instantly shot down; that not killing him, they took an old corn-cutter and literally mangled him to pieces. A lad of ten years of age, after being shot down, also begged to be spared, when one of them placed the muzzle of his gun to his head and blew out his brains. The slaughter of these not satisfying the mob, they proceeded to rob and plunder. The scene that presented itself after the massacre to the widows and orphans of the killed, is beyond description. It was truly a time of weeping, of mourning, and of lamentation. As yet we have not heard of any being arrested for these murders, notwithstanding there are men boasting about the country that they did kill on that occasion more than one "Mormon," whereas all our people who were in the battle with Captain Patton against Bogart, that can be found, have been arrested, and are now confined in jail to await their trial for murder.

"When General Lucas arrived near Far West and presented the Governor's order, we were greatly surprised; yet we felt willing to submit to the authorities of the State. We gave up our arms without reluctance. We were then made prisoners and confined to the limits of the town for about a week, during which time the men from the country were not permitted to go to their families, many of whom were in a suffering condition for the want of food and firewood, the weather being very cold and stormy.

"Much property was destroyed by the troops in town during their stay there, such as burning house logs, rails, corn cribs, boards, etc., the using of corn and hay, the plundering of houses, the killing of cattle, sheep and hogs, and also the taking of horses, not their

own; and all this without regard to owners, or asking leave of anyone. In the meantime, men were abused, women insulted, and abused by the troops; and all this while we were kept prisoners.

"Whilst the town was guarded we were called together by the order of General Lucas and a guard placed close around us, and in that situation were compelled to sign a deed of trust for the purpose of making our individual property all holden as they said, to pay all the debts of every individual belonging to the church, and also to pay for all damages the inhabitants of Daviess County may have sustained in consequence of the late difficulties in that county.

"General Clark had now arrived and the first important move made by him was the collecting of our men together on the square, and selected out about fifty of them, whom he immediately marched into a house and confined close. This was done without the aid of the sheriff or any legal process. The next day forty-six of those taken were driven like a parcel of menial slaves, off to Richmond, not knowing why they were taken or what they were taken for. After being confined in Richmond more than two weeks, about one-half were liberated; the rest, after another week's confinement, were most of them required to appear at court, and have since been let to bail. Since General Clark withdrew his troops from Far West, parties of armed men have gone through the country driving off horses, sheep and cattle, and also plundering houses; the barbarity of General Lucas' troops ought not to be passed over in silence. They shot our cattle and hogs merely for the sake of destroying them, leaving them for the ravens to eat. They took prisoner an aged man by the name of Tanner, and without any reason for it, he was struck over the head with a gun, which laid his skull bare. Another man by the name of Carey was also taken prisoner by them, and without any provocation had his brains dashed out by a gun. He was laid in a wagon and there permitted to remain, for the space of twenty-four hours, during which time no one was permitted to administer to him, comfort or consolation; and after he was removed from that situation he lived but a few hours.

"The destruction of property at and about Far West is very great, many are stripped bare, as it were, and others partially so; indeed, take us as a body, at this time we are a poor and afflicted people; and if we are compelled to leave the State in the Spring, many, yes, a large portion of our Society will have to be removed at the expense of the State, as those who might have helped them are now debarred that privilege in consequence of the deed of trust we were compelled to sign; which deed so operated upon our real estate that it will sell for little or nothing at this time.

"We have now made a brief statement of some of the most prominent features of the troubles that have befallen our people

since our first settlement in the State; and we believe that these persecutions have come in consequence of our religious faith, and not for any immorality on our part.

"That instances have been of late, where individuals have trespassed upon the rights of others, and thereby broken the laws of the land, we will not pretend to deny; but yet we do believe that no crime can be substantiated against any of the people who have a standing in our church of an earlier date than the difficulties in Daviess County. And when it is considered that the rights of this people have been trampled upon from time to time with impunity, and abuses heaped upon them almost innumerable, it ought in some degree to palliate for any infraction of the law which may have been made on the part of our people.

"The late order of Governor Boggs to drive us from this State or exterminate us is a thing so novel, unlawful, tyrannical and oppressive that we have been induced to draw up this memorial and present this statement of our case to your honorable body, praying that a law may be passed rescinding the order of the Governor to drive us from the State and also giving the sanction of the legislature to inherit our lands in peace. We ask an expression of the legislature disapproving of the conduct of those who compelled us to sign a deed of trust and also disapproving of any man or set of men taking our property in consequence of that deed of trust and appropriating it to the payment of damage sustained in consequence of trespasses committed by others.

"We have no common stock; our property is individual property, and we feel willing to pay our debts as other individuals do; but we are not willing to be bound for other people's debts also. The arms which were taken from us here, which we understand to be about six hundred and thirty, besides swords and pistols, we care not so much about as we do the pay for them, only we are bound to do military duty, which we are willing to do; and which we think was sufficiently manifested by the raising of a voluntary company last fall at Far West, when called upon by General Parks to raise troops for the frontier.

"The arms given up by us we consider were worth between twelve and fifteen thousand dollars; but we understand they have been greatly damaged since taken, and at this time probably would not bring near their former value. And as they were, both here and in Jackson County, taken by the militia, and consequently by the authority of the State, we therefore ask your honorable body to cause an appropriation to be made by law whereby we may be paid for them, or otherwise have them returned to us and the damages made good.

"The losses sustained by our people in leaving Jackson County are so situated that it is impossible to obtain any compensation for

TEMPLE LOT AND PUBLIC SQUARE AT FAR WEST.

(**Courtesy** *Journal of History*, **Lamoni, Iowa.**)

them by law, because those who have sustained them are unable to prove those trespasses upon individuals. That the facts do exist that the buildings, crops, stock, furniture, rails, timber, etc., of the society have been destroyed in Jackson County, is not doubted by those who are acquainted in this upper country; and since these trespasses cannot be proven upon individuals, we ask your honorable body to consider this case; and if in your liberality and wisdom you can conceive it to be proper to make an appropriation by law to these sufferers, many of whom are still pressed down with poverty in consequence of their losses, would be able to pay their debts, and also in some degree be relieved from poverty and woe; whilst the widow's heart would be made to rejoice, and the orphan's tear measurably dried up, and the prayers of a grateful people ascend on high with thanksgiving and praise to the Author of our existance for that beneficient act.

"In laying our case before your honorable body, we say that we are willing and ever have been to conform to the Constitution and laws of the United States and of this State. We ask in common with others the protection of the laws. We ask for the privilege guaranteed to all free citizens of the United States and of this State to be extended to us, that we may be permitted to settle and live where we please, and worship God according to the dictates of our conscience without molestation. And while we ask for ourselves the privilege we are willing all others should enjoy the same.

"We now lay our case at the feet of your legislature and ask your honorable body to consider it, and do for us, after mature deliberation, that which your wisdom, patriotism and philanthropy may dictate.

"And we, as in duty bound, will ever pray, etc.,

Edward Partridge,	Herbert C. Kimball,	John Taylor,
Theodore Turley,	Brigham Young,	Isaac Morley,
George W. Harris,	John Murdock,	John M. Burk.

"A committee appointed by the citizens of Caldwell County, to draft the memorial and sign it in their behalf.

Far West, Caldwell County, Missouri,
December 10, 1838."—(*Millenial Star*, Vol. 16, pp. 58-589.)

By an act of the Legislature approved December 11, 1838, the sum of $2,000.00 was appropriated for the purpose of relieving the indigent and suffering families in Caldwell and Daviess counties, and the following commissioners were appointed to expend the sum, and distribute food, raiment and other necessaries among the deserving:

Anderson Martin,
William Thornton and

John C. Richardson of Ray County:
Elisha Cameron,
John Thornton and
Eli Casey of Clay County;
Henry McHenry of Caldwell County and
M. T. Green of Daviess County.

It is asserted by the Mormons that none of the appropriation was expended for the benefit of Mormons, although the act itself did not especially exclude them.

The same legislature prohibited the publication of the orders, letters, evidences and other documents relating to the Mormon disturbances, and enjoined the Secretary of State from furnishing or permitting to be taken copies of the same for any purpose whatsoever. Two years later, however, the prohibition was rescinded. (See *Acts 11th General Assembly, page 334.*)

MISSOURI'S CENTENNIAL.

BY FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER.

Missouri is on the eve of the one hundreth anniversary of Statehood. After a century of development and achievement, it is due our Commonwealth and due ourselves as loyal citizens, to commemorate this anniversary.

The late world war perforced many Americans to "See America first." There was compensation in this. We became better acquainted with our own country and its institutions; more conversant with its past; more appreciative of its present. A broader and better citizenship has resulted.

Added to this is the even more helpful influence of those returning from Europe. The Nation's men have waged battle for right and honor. They return crowned with the wreath of victory. Their experience abroad has not, however, been confined to the trench. They have marched and camped on historic soil. They have bivouaced in cathedrals and town halls of the feudal ages. They have trod the Roman roads centuries old as well as mired in the marshes of Flanders. Many have viewed the glories of Southern France and the historic spots of ravished Belgium. These men returned broadened and better educated than when they left their native land. Heroes, patriots, warriors and fighters, will they stand first in our eyes, but in their own will also gleam that better understanding of other peoples' civilization and a deeper appreciation of our own annals.

It is fitting under these circumstances that Missouri should commemorate her one hundredth birthday. State history is more or less a part of National history. To understand Missouri history is to better appreciate American history. Again, as one of the frontier states, as one of the border states, the story of Missouri is suggestive of the part played by the Middle West in the warp and woof of the annals of this country.

Not merely in the looking-back attitude should this centennial observance be undertaken. A balancing of the accounts a hundred years old will be taken, an inventory also of our progress and our contributions to civilization, but a knowledge of these should show us the possibilities of the future. A tinge of sadness surrounds the ordinary notice given a centenarian—a sadness in the look that is altogether backward. A state's birthday of a hundred years is different. Her natal hour commemorated brings not the dusk but the feeling of gathering twilight. We view Missouri today in her *youth* of a hundred years and not in her age of a century. This young offspring is yet on the threshold only of an era of development, the possibilities of which are great. Missouri's centennial may suggest this future as well as survey her past.

Missouri's centennial of statehood will be in 1920, her centennial of admission to the Union in 1921. The former, but one year away, necessitates action if an adequate celebration is insured. The State Historical Society of Missouri, at Columbia, began the inception of the Centennial movement at its annual meeting in 1915. A Centennial Committee of One Thousand Missourians was formed in 1916. In each county and the city of St. Louis was organized a local Centennial Committee of five persons, and in addition four hundred and twenty-five delegates at large were selected representative of the industries, vocations, institutions and organizations of the people of the State.

This body of eminent Missourians met in convention at Kansas City on November 24 and 25, 1916—two hundred delegates being present. Here organization was effected and plans adopted.

The Centennial Committee decided that local and regional Centennial Celebrations be held in the several counties in Missouri from 1918 to 1921, culminating in six Statewide Centennial Celebrations in St. Louis, Kansas City, Jefferson City and Sedalia in 1920, and in Columbia and St. Charles in 1921. The Executive Committee was directed to present the needs of the Centennial Celebration movement to

the 49th General Assembly. An appropriation was made by that body, but owing to the condition of the State's finances, it was not allowed.

The Centennial Committee then hoped to obtain financial support from the 50th Legislature to enable it to carry out its plans. Whatever hopes had been entertained were abandoned when other centennial measures and centennial resolutions were introduced in both houses. All failed in passage except the following concurrent resolution introduced by Senator S. E. Bronson:

"Whereas, The State of Missouri by act of Congress dated March 6, 1820, and by final proclamation dated August 10, 1821, was admitted to the Union of States on that date and

"Whereas, It would be proper and fitting to hold a Centennial Celebration on the date of the one hundredth anniversary of Missouri's admission to the Union; therefore be it

"Resolved by the Senate, the House of Representatives concurring, that a special committee of seven be appointed, consisting of the Governor, Frederick D. Gardner, Lieutenant Governor, Wallace Crossley, the Hon. Samuel F. O'Fallon, Speaker of the House, and two members, one Democrat and one Republican, of the Senate and two members of the House of Representatives, one Democrat and one Republican, who shall be empowered to organize as a permanent committee to plan a fitting celebration for a Centennial Celebration.

"Be It Further Resolved, that said committee when appointed be requested to organize at an early date, and report to the General Assembly that any appropriation necessary to carry out the purpose of this resolution in keeping with the report of the committee, when made and adopted, may be made before the assembly adjourns."

To give effect to this resolution an appropriation of $20,000 was made. This appropriation was not allowed owing to the condition of the State's finances.

If centennial celebrations are to be held in Missouri in 1920, it will devolve upon the counties and cities of the State to feature them. This can be done and successfully. Howard county held a great homecoming in 1916 in honor of her hundreth birthday. A centennial gathering convened in Columbia, on January 8, 1918, at the annual meeting of The State His-

torical Society to commemorate the centennial of the presentation in Congress of Missouri's first petitions for statehood. The Missouri Press Association held a memorable centennial celebration at New Franklin on May 9, 1919, to commemorate the founding of the *Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser*, the first newspaper founded west of St. Louis, and erected a monument in honor of its founders. Palmyra and Marion county are planning a centennial celebration of significance this July. It is now too late, perhaps, for compiling a centennial history of the State that would be a scholarly contribution. Such work takes time. The study of Missouri history, homecomings and celebrations, and pageants, *are* possible.

Not on an artificial and mercenary basis should Missouri's Centenary be placed. Such an event is rather historical, educational, patriotic and inspirational. The warning voiced by the Indiana centennial committee may well be remembered: "Beware of commercialized patriotism; eliminate the street fair and carnival idea; do not make your organization too complex; do not attempt too many things; and localize rather than centralize your celebrational activities."

The objects of Missouri's centennial should be first to do honor to the founders of the State and to reveal the annals of her past by reviewing her hundred years of progress. Second, to consider her advance in industry and agriculture, her natural resources, and her contributions to civilization made in science, art and letters. Third, to make vital and concrete the history of Missouri in the minds of the school boys and girls of the State. Fourth, to foster a patriotism of honest public service by a study of the lives of those on Missouri's honor roll in every line of achievement who lived for others and who made their country worth dying for.

These objects may be partially realized by a study of the resources and history of Missouri, and of the lives of her eminent citizens. This study may be followed by community festivals around the rural schools and by civic parades and pageants in larger places. The writing of the local history of

the school communities, stressing the lives of its builders and makers, would result in much fruit. No community, however small, is without its history of interest and value. A story of daring and privation, of struggle and sentiment, of labor and achievements, may be found in every hamlet. This local history, full of legend and color, should be presented in exhibits and exercises, dignified and impressive. So may come reverence and pride in the past, faith and promise in the future.

For arousing interest in Missouri's Centennial these subjects, adapted together with additions from the scheme presented by the Indiana centennial committee, are suggested for consideration:

1. The Study of General Missouri History during 1919, 1920 and 1921.
2. The Study of Missouri's Admission into the Union.
3. The Study of the Lives of Eminent Missourians.
4. Missouri in Peace and War.
5. Education in the Development of the State.
   (a) Elementary Education.
   (b) Collegiate Education.
      (1) Liberal Arts and Sciences.
      (2) Technical and Trades Education.
6. Religious History and Life of the State.
7. The Evolution of Domestic Life and Household Arts.
8. The Role of Labor in Material Development.
9. The Contribution of Foreign Nations to the Wealth of Citizenship.
10. Missouri Literature and Authors.
11. Music.
12. Art and Architecture.
13. Permanent Memorials.
14. Civic Development.
15. Recreation Centers and Park Development.
16. Rural Recreations and Entertainment.
17. Club Life in Relation to Community Betterment.
18. The Press in Missouri History.
19. The Law.
20. Medicine.
21. Public Health.
22. Athletics and Sports.
23. Charities and Corrections.

24. **Agriculture and Horticulture.**
25. **Forestry.**
26. **Stock Raising and Farming Resources.**
27. **Manufactures, Commerce and Trade.**
28. **Mining.**
29. **Transportation.**
30. **Pageantry and Festivals.**
31. **Home Coming for All Missourians.**

To facilitate schools and communities in taking up the first three subjects, some special suggestions on printed literature may be helpful.

Subject 1: Altho the books covering this are many, only a small number are in print, hence available. Of those available, only those most consulted, so far as statistics in The State Historical Society of Missouri show, are here mentioned. For elementary reading, adapted especially for children, are: *Rader's History of Missouri* (Hugh Stephens Printing Company, Jefferson City, 65 cents), and *Loeb and Viles' History of Missouri*, etc., (American Book Company). For advanced reading adapted for high school and college students and for adults, are: *Houck's History of Missouri*, (3 vols., may be obtained from Naeter Bros., Cape Girardeau, Missouri, reduced price from $18 to $6)—a work that should be in the hands of every student of Missouri history—; *Stevens' Missouri The Center State*, (4 vols., The S. J. Vlarke Publishing Company, St. Louis)—the first two volumes deal with Missouri history, the last two with biographies—a very interesting and valuable work, fully illustrated and finely bound; *Violette's History of Missouri* (D. C. Heath and Company, $1.60) a topical history of Missouri, based on standard works and monographs, the best single volume of general Missouri history; *The Missouri Historical Review*, (13 vols., The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, current annual volumes, $1.00, unbound set of 13 vols., $26.00, bound $42.00)—devoted exclusively to both scholarly and popular articles on Missouri history and biography, compiled by the ablest historians in the State.

Subject 2: The books suggested for a study of general Missouri history, have a chapter on Missouri's admission into

the Union. The only current work devoted entirely to this subject is *Shoemaker's Missouri's Struggle For Statehood, 1804-1821* (Hugh Stephens Printing Company, Jefferson City, Mo., $5.10)—"a book that has put all students of Missouri and American history greatly in its debt."

Subject 3: Collective biographies of eminent Missourians are out of print. Moreover, practically all such works were devoted to lawyers, judges and statesmen. The only book available on this subject today that is representative of Missourians who were eminent in art, literature, exploration, education, invention, journalism, reform, war and statecraft, is *Shoemaker's Missouri's Hall of Fame* (Missouri Book Company, Columbia, Missouri, 80 cents).

Information on the other subjects may be obtained from these suggested sources: Historical works already listed; free reports of State Boards and institutions, as the Labor Bureau, Secretary of State, State Board of Charities and Corrections, State Board of Agriculture, State Agricultural College, State Superintendent of Schools, Bureau of Geology and Mines; the *State of Missouri*, distributed by The State Historical Society of Missouri; *History of Education in Missouri*, by Prof. C. A. Phillips (Hugh Stephens Printing Company); church histories; local county, city and town histories; historical articles in country and city newspapers; and accounts of pioneers.

The schools, colleges and universities of the State will form natural centers for celebration activities. Many have excellent library facilities, and all have progressive, public spritied men and women willing to assist their section in making this observance a success. Private initiative on the part of citizens of the State may be relied on to work out those plans of celebration best adapted to local needs and conditions.

Missouri's Centennial will be commemorated by her citizens. This anniversary will be observed. To honor her makers, to recount her past, to plan her future, and above all to instill and strengthen love of State and Nation, should be the objects of Missouri's Centennial.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS.

The present article on *Missouri and the War* is the sixth installment of the series begun two years ago. The style of presentation was purposely popular. Owing to this and the opportuneness of subject matter, the series has been widely reproduced thru the Missouri press. Considering the lack of historical perspective owing to our nearness to facts presented, the articles may be regarded as accurate. Altho little more than annals and generalizations based on official reports, the statements made may be accepted with little hesitation. To withstand the temptation of indulging State pride was difficult. The author has, however, been consciously on his guard against such laudation except where it was undoubtedly based on fact. If anything, these articles erred on the side of modesty and are on that account reliable for reference. So far as we know, this magazine was the first to carry such a series of articles, dealing with a State's war activities from so general a point of view, compiled according to a systematic plan, and based as a whole on the undisputed evidence of official documents.

The reproduction in the *Review* of the paper on *The Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser*, by Mr. E. W. Stephens, was made possible by the kind courtesy of the School of Journalism, of the University of Missouri. The prominence of the author as an editor, writer, publisher, citizen and Christian gentleman, makes his historical writings interesting and valuable. As chairman of the Missouri Intelligencer Centennial Committee of the Missouri Press Association, Mr. Stephens planned and executed an observance of the founding of the first American newspaper west of St. Louis that will long be remembered by the hundreds of persons attending the noteworthy celebration at New Franklin on May 9, 1919. Mr. E. W. Stephens was the first president of this Society. His interest in Missouri history dates back decades when his

Columbia Missouri Herald, edited with Dean Walter Williams, was called "the best country newspaper in America." Readers of the *Review* will find much of interest and information in this recent compilation of Mr. Stephens.

To Hon. Geo. A. Mahan, one of the leading citizens of Hannibal, is the *Review* indebted for the information collected relating to the life of Rear Admiral Robert E. Coontz. Marion county, Missouri, has enjoyed high position in producing eminent citizens. Among these is the subject of the sketch included under *Missourians Abroad*. Missouri can take pride in the rearing of such a son. His success in the Nation's service casts credit on his native heath.

Belated but not untimely is the publication of *The Lawyer in Missouri One Hundred Years Ago* by the late Judge Jno. F. Philips. Among the many polished, historical addresses delivered at the Daniel Boone Tavern in Columbia on January 8, 1918, none equalled this masterpiece by that dean and leader of afterdinner speakers, Judge Philips. Many stories were interspersed by the speaker which he later omitted in the manuscript. To those who heard this address, it may seem that some of the rich flavor is lost by the omissions. We regret that the Judge's modesty in print forbade him from reproducing what he had the temerity to utter in public. Judge Philips never deprecated this speech. In fact he was rather proud of it. He submitted three manuscripts before he finally approved the one herein set forth.

Judging from the many comments received, the valuable series of articles on *Early Days on Grand River and the Mormon War* by Mr. Rollin J. Britton, of Kansas City,is being recognized as one of the most unbiased, historically accurate presentations of this subject that has appeared. The *Review* has been especially favored in obtaining the fruits of Mr. Britton's careful researches. It is also grateful for the courtesy extended it by Mr. H. S. Salisbury, historian of *The Journal of History*, Lamoni, Iowa, in loaning the interesting cuts for illustration in this magazine.

Missouri's Centennial, was prepared by the author for *The Missouri School Journal* and first appeared in that publi-

cation last month. The subject matter makes it opportune for reproduction here. If Missouri's centennial results only in arousing interest in Missouri history, it will bear rich fruit. The purpose of this article is frankly to stimulate such interest by suggestion rather than by rule.

While in Jefferson City recently, Mr. J. N. Stonebraker, editor of the *Carrollton Republican-Record* and president of the Missouri Press Association, asked why the *Review* had discontinued publishing its lists of *Historical Articles in Missouri Newspapers*. Mr. Stonebraker said that to him, an editor, these *Articles* meant much. They had served as a criterion of his own work in comparison with other editors. They had served as guides in suggesting to him the almost virgin field of local history feature articles. In short, he said that they had been a stimulus and an inspiration to him and he knew to others. Dr. Walter B. Stevens, of St. Louis, president of The State Historical Society of Missouri, was appealed to and endorsed every statement made by Mr. Stonebraker. Dr. Stevens said that from his experience as Washington correspondent of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* for over two decades, as an editor, reporter and historian, he regarded these *Articles* as one of the most valuable departments of the *Review*. A number of editors over the State were written to and all held the same opinion. It is, therefore, a pleasure to announce that beginning in this issue will regularly appear lists of the historical articles currently appearing in Missouri newspapers. It will take perhaps two issues to bring these down to date as the last list in the *Review* ended in August, 1917.

This Society was the first to carefully and systematically invoice all the important historical and biographical articles currently appearing in the newspapers of a State. It began this in April, 1915, and it has been continued to date. Owing to lack of funds the reproduction of these in the *Review* was discontinued in August, 1917. It is obvious to all that this work virtually unlocks a new library of thousands of titles which would otherwise be sealed in the bound newspaper files

except to the research worker. Again, it furnishes a ready reference on the deaths and obituary notices of the eminent deceased.

Appreciation:

Among the letters of appreciation received, these have been selected for reproduction:

"I have read all of your articles on *Missouri and the War* with much pleasure, especially your fifth article in the last issue of the *Review*, which makes mention of so many prominent Missourians. Your articles are very valuable because it is history written as the events take place."

Geo. A. Mahan,
Hannibal, Mo.,
October 17, 1918.

"Having duly received the copy of the *Review* containing the information I sought concerning Gen. Crowder I proceeded to read the article in question and did not cease reading till I had covered the entire number. It certainly is interesting and inspiring from first to last. I am so hungry for more that I enclose $1.00 to pay for the numbers received. Congratulations on the splendid editorial which so fairly points out both the commendable and unworthy features of the "St. Louis Notes."

A. A. Jeffrey,
Forest City, Mo.,
October 17, 1918.

"The State Historical Society, the object of which is the collection and preservation, exhibition and publication of material for the study of History, especially the history of Missouri and the middle west, is composed of a president, six vice-presidents, a treasurer, a secretary and librarian and a board of trustees, consisting of 26 members, all of whom serve without pay or traveling expenses with the exception of the secretary. In the Historical Society Library there are 9236 bound volumes of Missouri news papers and 180,000 books and pamphlets, many of them invaluable. The membership of the Society consists of 1368 persons, of which number 628 are Missouri editorial members. *The membership ought to include every reading citizen of Missouri.* The appropriation for the support of the Society for the years 1917-1918 was

$16,480, an appropriation that not a penny of will any reading, thinking Missourian object to."

G. W. Martin, Editor,
The Brookfield Gazette,
March 1, 1919.

"The last number of the *Review* was so full of interesting matter that I enjoyed it immensely and was forced to pass it on to a friend, another former Missourian, and therefore write you to send me another copy or two of the same issue."

Judge O. M. Spencer, General
Counsel C. B. & Q. R. R. Co.,
Chicago, Illinois,
May 13, 1919.

"The October number of *The Missouri Historical Review* contains a continuation of *Gottfried Duden's Report, 1824-27*. This is a valuable addition to the pioneer literature of the Mississippi Valley."

Indiana Magazine of History,
Indianapolis, Indiana,
December, 1918.

"I have read with keenest interest and appreciation your article on Judge John F. Philips. He and I were mustered into the U. S. Army on the same day, in the same regiment, and were constant and intimate friends up to the time of his death. The last time I saw him, in his office in Kansas City, he said to me, "Dr. you were my Assistant Surgeon in the army, one of my closest and most confidential friends and the only Staff Officer now living." This to me was quite a compliment. I again thank you for this, a most deserved tribute to one of the ablest, truest, best men I ever knew."

M. T. Chastain, M. D.,
Marshall, Mo.,
May 23, 1919.

"The numbers of the *Review* have been more than usually interesting of late. I like the series of articles on *Missourians Abroad* very much as also the articles on the Mormons and many others. The *Review* is doing a fine piece of work."

Dr. Wm. G. Bek, Univ. of North Dakota
Grand Forks, N. D.,
May 25, 1919.

"If *The Missouri Historical Review* had performed but one service and that service the publication of the reports of Gottfried Duden, translated by William G. Bek, Missourians would for all time be indebted to it.

"It is of incalculable historical value.

"The causes for the stream of German immigrants that flocked to Missouri and settled the hill counties along the Missouri River from St. Louis to Lexington, from 1825 to 1860, are made clear.

"The seed of Duden's reports undoubtedly sent the better class of German immigrants, the 1848 revolutionists, to Missouri also.

"The wonderful particularity with which this report details facts and modes of American life about the year 1825 is nothing less than marvelous."

J. C. Fisher, Editor
Lawyers and Bankers Quarterly and
Fishers Probate Law Directory,
St. Louis, Mo.,
May 10, 1919.

"Was delighted to see the State Flag in *The Missouri Historical Review*. As Chairman of the Committee on Patriotic Education, Webster Chapter, D. A. R., I had the honor of carrying the flag in the D. A. R. parade yesterday, Decoration Day, when we unveiled a marker to our eleven heroes who fell in the late war."

Mrs. L. Louise Marsh,
Webster Groves, Mo.,
June, 2, 1919.

"I have read with interest your tribute to my uncle, Judge Philips, in the April issue of *The Missouri Historical Review*. It is admirable as a distinctively correct interpretation of his character and talents and is itself faultless in composition."

W. H. Philips,
Marshall, Mo.,
June 3, 1919.

The October Review:

Members of the Society will be favored with some noteworthy contributions in the October issue of the *Review*. Prof. Wm. G. Bek, of the University of North Dakota, a native of Missouri, will begin his remarkable series of articles

on the *Followers of Duden*. Diaries nearly a century old, kept by those who emigrated here to escape the militarism and feudal slavery of Europe, have been collected by Dr. Bek who has translated them and added notes for publication. These documents present one of the most striking pictures of pioneer Missouri to be found. Written without thought of being made public, their authors gave free rein to depicting their impressions of their new home. The valuable address of Dr. H. W. Loeb, of St. Louis, on *One Hundred Years of Medicine in Missouri*, which was delivered at the Missouri Centennial Celebration at Columbia, on January 8, 1918, will be included in this number. Even the doctors of the State, except those who have specialized in Missouri history, will be surprised to learn of the high rank occupied by Missouri in the field of medicine during the last century. Prof. Sam T. Bratton, instructor in geography, department of geology and geography, University of Missouri, will present the results of some of his researches on early Missouri history in a paper on the *Inefficiency of Water Transportation in Missouri—A Geographical Factor in the Development of Railroads*.

In the October *Review* will also appear the first of a series of articles reprinted from *Shelby's Expedition to Mexico—An Unwritten Leaf of the War*, by John N. Edwards. This book is one of the rarest on Missouri and the Civil War. It was privately printed in a limited edition. From the present scarcity of the work, either the edition was very small or most of the copies were destroyed or have since been lost. The work is seldom listed in second-hand book catalogues and the large auction book sales in the East have not offered it for decades. The late Mr. F. A. Sampson did not have a copy in his collection and was unable to obtain one during his connection with this Society. He left this memorandum on a slip of paper, "Be on the lookout for Shelby's Expedition to Mexico—Edwards." It was not until this spring that a copy was listed at a price within reason and was obtained by the Society. Owing to these facts, the interest and value attached to the subject matter, the polished language of the author and his high standing as a journalist, and further because of the many

requests this Society has received regarding the work, the *Review* will reprint it in full. This book should not be confused with *Shelby and His Men* or with *Noted Guerillas*, by the same author, which are still frequently met with in the book stores.

The papers on *Missourians Abroad*, *Early Days on Grand River and the Mormom War*, *Historical Articles in Missouri Newspapers* and *Historical Notes and Comments*, will also be continued in the October *Review*.

These contributions in this single issue of the *Review*, if copyrighted would sell for at least five dollars. All citizens of the State are being given an opportunity to obtain an entire year's subscription to the magazine of this character at one-fifth that cost. The membership in this Society is large and is increasing rapidly. It should be, however, at least five thousand and it is not beyond out expectation that this number will be enrolled in the near future. *If you as a member of this Society are satisfied with its publication and are convinced that its articles are helpful, interesting and instructive to you, kindly send the Editor the names of ten persons in your locality whom you would recommend for membership in this institution.* One member of this Society even sent check last winter for ten dollars to pay the membership dues of ten of his friends for one year. Nine of these ten men after receiving the April *Review* wrote a letter of appreciation to this magazine and requested permanent enrollment as active, pay members.

As a reader of this magazine, you have probably watched its change of policy during the last two or three years. The change was forwarded by the late war. More articles of interest and of special significance on events today, have appeared. The Mexican Border Troubles occasioned the sketch of *Gen. Pershing* under *Missourians Abroad*, followed by similar articles on those who have achieved fame outside the boundaries of the State. The Great War brought out the series on *Missouri and the War*. The completion of Missouri's new capitol necessitated Dr. Vile's scholarly contribution on *Missouri's Capitals and Capitols*. Missouri's approaching centennial resulted in those fascinating sketches by Dr. Walter B. Stevens on *Missouri's Centennial* and *Missourians One Hundred Years Ago*.

And so it has been, not neglecting, however, the field of past historic contributions as the remarkable translation of *Duden's Report*, the history of the *Mormon War*, the origin of the names of *Missouri Counties*, the *Missouri Soldier, Merchant, Lawyer and Doctor One Hundred Years Ago*, the story of *Missouri-Montana Highways*, the first *Railroad Convention in St. Louis*, and many more.

The future policy of this magazine will continue to be along these lines. The purpose will be to make *The Missouri Historical Review* so interesting and instructive that it can compete for readers with the higher class of so-called, and properly, popular magazines of the East circulating today in Missouri.

One day this last May brought four letters relating to the April *Review*. One was from an educator of well known eminence, a historian of highest scholarship, a man of travel and remarkable training. Another was from a lawyer, a jurist of State-wide fame, a man who once sat on the bench. Another was from a country banker, a financier of ability, a conservative leader in his section. The last was from a merchant in a Central Missouri town. The educator and the lawyer wrote that they enjoyed reading the *Review* because it was interesting and up-to-date and that they filed it because it was valuable. The banker and the merchant wrote that they read the *Review* because it was practical and instructive.

First Catholic Indian School in the United States:

Nearly a century has passed since the founding of St. Regis Seminary near the quaint old creole village of St. Ferdinand or Florissant, as it is called today. Altho unknown to all save a few and not even mentioned in history, this institution established on Missouri soil in 1823 was the First Catholic Indian School in the United States. Its annals were brief, its purpose and labors lasting. For the short period of eight years (1823-1831) this pioneer institution, the first of its kind in this Nation, was an object of care and solicitude to many. Its trials and financial difficulties eventually forced it to close, but its example was followed elsewhere. For several years it received

financial support from the United States Government, the total amount paid being $3,500. To its projector, Louis Valentine William Du Bourg, Bishop of Louisiana, and its active head, Father Van Quickenborne, are the honor of the institution. An interesting article on this institution is found in *The Catholic Historical Review* for January, 1919, (Vol. IV, No. 4), by Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., of St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri, from which these notes have been taken.

THE MISSOURI PRESS ASSOCIATION AND JOURNALISM WEEK.

The fifty-second annual meeting of The Missouri Press Association was held this year May 7th-9th during the tenth annual Journalism Week at the School of Journalism, University of Missouri, Columbia. The new officers elected were: President, J. N. Stonebraker, editor of the *Carrollton Republican-Record;* first vice-president, R. Earl Hodges, editor *Mokane Missourian*; second vice-president, W. C. Kapp, Editor *Warrensburg Star-Journal*; secretary, Lewis Lamkin, editor *Lee's Summit Journal*; treasurer, Lewis W. Moore, editor Hume *Border Telephone.*

Journalism Week in Missouri is more than a convention of four hundred members. It is rather a popular educational institution open five days in the year to all citizens and attended mainly by Missouri editors and authors. Two Statewide organizations hold meeting during Journalism Week—The Missouri Press Association and The Missouri Writers' Guild. Eminent journalists and authors are also present from over the Nation to deliver addresses. Another feature of Journalism Week is the banquet given by the School of Journalism. Beginning in 1915 with a "Made-In-Missouri" banquet, succeeding ones have been equally unique. This year it was a "Made-in-St. Louis" banquet and next year it will be a "Made-in-the-Philippines" dinner.

Journalism Week this year was especially noteworthy. On May the eighth, Mr. Ward C. Neff, now of Chicago, but formerly of Kansas City, broke the first sod for the new journalism building. The funds for the building were given by Mr. Neff.

The building will be a memorial to Mr. Neff's father, J. H. Neff, founder of the Corn Belt Dailies and former mayor of Kansas City. It will be named for the elder Neff. Mr. Neff is a graduate from the School of Journalism. He is vice-president of the Corn Belt Farm Dailies and editor of the *Daily Drovers' Journal* of Chicago. The gift is significant. It is the first of its kind made to the University of Missouri. Its purpose is to perpetuate in a progressive way the first school of its kind in the United States—the Missouri School of Journalism. This public spirited gift made for such public good is worthy of highest commendation.

The other significant feature of this meeting of The Missouri Press Association was the celebration by that body at New Franklin on May the ninth of the centennial ot the founding of *The Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser* on April 23, 1819. This newspaper was the first American sheet established west of St. Louis. It was Missouri's pioneer country newspaper. The citizens of New Franklin and of Howard county gave the visitors one of those hospitable welcomes that have always characterized the "Mother of Counties." A basket dinner was served on tables extending over a block long in the main street of the town. Addresses were delivered by Mr. E. W. Stephens, chairman of the centennial committee, Dean Walter Williams, dean of the School of Journalism, Mr. J. N. Stonebraker, president of The Missouri Press Association, and Capt. Samuel W. Ravenel, of New Franklin. A marker of stone, eleven feet high, donated by the Press Association, was dedicated to indicate the site of the *Missouri Intelligencer* office.

KANSAS CITY.

The Kansas City Chamber of Commerce has recently gathered figures showing the rank of their city in various lines. Kansas City is about twenty-first in population. Its standing in things that represent not quantity of population but quality are:

First—

Pullman business.
Sale of agricultural implements.

Yellow pine lumber.
Hay Market.
Farming territory.
Tributary trade.
Miles of park boulevard.
Winter wheat.
Stock and feed cattle.

Second—
Railroad center.
Live stock market.
Packing center.
Horse and mule market.

Third—
Flour milling capacity and production.
Grain market.
Lumber.
Poultry and eggs.
Telegraph business.

Fifth—
Bank clearings.
Grain elevator capacity.

ST. LOUIS THE FUR CAPITAL.

(From *Kansas City Star.*)

On almost the same spot where 150 years ago old Pierre Laclede bargained with trappers, who brought down furs from the great unknown Northwest, now stands the world's greatest fur market. At this market, on Elm Street, near the river front, in St. Louis, 8½ million dollars worth of furs were sold at a 9-day international auction last January.

It's a far call from Pierre Chouteau and his rugged, coonskin capped patrons to the richly fed and richly garbed buyers at the fur auctions today. And there is a vast stretch between the prices, too. In Chouteau's day the annual value of the entire fur catch sold in St. Louis was only about $200,000 and that trade came from the whole virgin territory of the Northwest. Now the total yield of the three annual sales held in St. Louis runs up to something like 15 million dollars.

SEE MISSOURI FIRST.

(From *The Evening Missourian*, Columbia.)

With the arrival of spring and the coming of summer, people begin to make plans for summer trips and outings. "The East" and "the West" are the places that most Missourians aspire to visit and California, Colorado or New York is the acme of a summer pleasure trip to them. Next in favor probably comes Niagara with the Great Lakes closely following.

But within our own state we have places of scenic beauty and historic interest that would rival any of these. Let us plan our trips in our own state this year and see its places of beauty and interest.

Beside St. Louis and Kansas City, which are both leading cities of the country, Missouri has many other places of note. Probably no other town in the United States has preserved more of the surroundings of its great men than Hannibal, Mo., has of Mark Twain, "the world's greatest humorist." The buildings still stand where Mark Twain spent his boyhood and where he began work in a newspaper office. Several miles up the Mississippi River from Hannibal is the famous Mark Twain cave, in which many of the scenes in "Tom Sawyer" are laid. Over in Florida, Monroe County, is a cottage owned by M. A. Violette which marks Mark Twain's birthplace.

Pike County, the home of Champ Clark, is also the home of the largest nurseries in the world—the Stark Brothers' nurseries in Louisiana. "For its country homes, its miles of rock road and its old estates, Pike County is not to be surpassed," it has been said.

Nor does Missouri lack in health resorts. Excelsior Springs, with its twenty-seven different mineral waters its fine hotels and its country club, can vie with Colorado Springs and Hot Springs.

No country in the world surpasses the Ozarks of Southwest Missouri for rustic beauty. For cultured beauty there is the Missouri Botanical Garden in St. Louis, which today takes rank among the leading scientific institutions of the world.

In Howard County near Franklin stands the marker of the site of the first newspaper printed west of St. Louis, *The Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser.*

And so is Missouri the home of many other places of beauty and interest. Let's become acquainted with them this summer and see Missouri first!

SLAVE OWNERS FEARED ADVENT OF STEAM ROAD.

(From *St. Louis Republic.*)

Macon, Mo., Jan. 31—The approaching sixtieth anniversary of the completion of the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad across North-

ern Missouri is causing some interest among the older railroad men connected with the line, and it is likely that there will be observance of the anniversary at Hannibal, Brookfield and St. Joseph, the important railroad towns on the line in Missouri. The track layers began at Hannibal on the east and at St. Joe on the west, working toward each other. The connection was made at Utica, in Livingston County, February 13, 1859.

As far as known, there are no men now connected with the road who were with it during the first year of its operation. Two of the longest to remain in the service of the company were Trainmaster George H. Davis, now living in Quincy, Ill., and Isaac N. Wilbur, who retired as master mechanic after 50 years' continuous service, and who died at Brookfield a few years ago.

The credit for putting the Hannibal & St. Joe Railroad on the map belongs more to Gov. Robert Stewart, possibly than to any other man. Stewart was the Col. Sellers of his day. The main difference was that with Gov. Stewart the dreams came true. It was his wonderful enthusiasm and personality that shook up the pioneers along the projected pathway of the iron horse, and made them rally to its support, and then he got a bill through Congress for a grant of alternate sections of vacant lands 10 miles on each side ofthe road when located.

CURIOUS OBJECTIONS.

Stewart mixed with the planters and the people of the towns and won them completely. It was necessary to do this, because the idea of running a railroad through a new country was objectionable to the settlers for many reasons, some of them curious. The noise of the cars would frighten stock, the smoke from the locomotives would go into houses and stores and ruin things. The cars would be a constant source of danger to people crossing the tracks, and the iron highway would be an invitation to the slaves to escape from their masters. One by one Stewart answered these objections in public speeches and in discussion at the village stores. The people realized that Stewart had no personal ax to grind, and that he was only interested in the development of this great State.

The Hannibal & St. Joe Road is now a part of the great Burlington system, but it will always remain as a monument to the enterprise and far-sightedness of Gov. Stewart and his associates.

The early operation of the Hannibal & St. Joe Road was attended by many difficulties, some of which had been prophecied by those opposing it. The rails were light, the roadbed soft and many accidents resulted from washouts.

OLD-TIME WAGES.

In the light of present wages, those paid in the early days were amusing. An expert engineer received $2.50 a day, and his day might last from 7 in the morning until midnight; firemen, $1.50 a day; brakemen, a man who absolutely had to twist brakes, $1.25 a day. Tie choppers were paid $1 a day.

The road was just beginning to get in shape to make money when the Civil War came on. It was operated under Government protection and used largely for the transportation of troops and supplies. This excited the hostility of bushwhackers, who fired bridges and wrecked trains and who made life a constant misery for the crews. To stop these raids the Government established blockhouses at all the principal streams and placed garrisons in them. Gen. Grant's first service in the Civil War was in charge of a guard to protect the bridge at Salt River, in Shelby County. The old men of the "Joe" have all passed along to the great terminal above, but they have left worthy descendants who are maintaining the prestige of their fathers, and today the words "old reliable" have a recognized meaning throughout the railroad world.

PERSONAL.

H. M. Blossom: Born in St. Louis in 1867; died in New York City March 23, 1919. Blossom was educated in the old Stoddard School in St. Louis and early in life engaged in the insurance business. An interest in music, writing and stage affairs caused him to go to New York, where he first became known as the author of a racetrack comedy, "Checkers." He later became famous as the writer of song words in musical plays. Among his most notable successes were "The Yankee Consul," "Mlle. Modiste," "The Red Mill" and "The Only Girl."

Hon. James M. Cravens: Born in Franklin county, Indiana, October 8, 1832; died at Sarcoxie, Missouri, February 12, 1919. Mr. Cravens came to Missouri in 1866 and settled on a farm near Auilla, where he was actively engaged in farming for 44 years. He was elected a member of the lower house of the Missouri General Assembly in 1882 and served one term.

Judge Frank P. Divelbiss: Born in Ray county, Missouri, October 5, 1870; died at Richmond, Missouri, April 13, 1919. He was educated at Avalon Academy and the University of

Missouri, graduating from the latter institution in 1896. He served as judge of the Probate court of Ray county from 1902 to 1908, when he resigned from office. In 1912 he was elected judge of the seventh judicial circuit to fill an unexpired term and in 1916 was re-elected for a full term.

Mel P. Moody: Born at Warrensburg, Missouri, March 30, 1854; died at Warrensburg, March 24, 1919. For a number of years he was engaged in business in Warrensburg, later going to St. Louis as manager of the Missouri Baptist Publishing House. Several years later he opened a branch house for this company in Dallas, Texas, but shortly after was forced to resign his position on account of ill health. After spending several years in New Mexico for his health, he returned to Warrensburg and became prominent in country journalism. He was city editor of the *Daily Star and Star-Journal* at Warrensburg and later conducted for himself the *Johnson County Farmer* and the *Johnson County Democrat.* He was one of the best known and most widely quoted editors in the state.

Hon. William Louis Morsey: Born in Warren county, Missouri, November 21, 1849; died at Warrenton, Missouri, March 19, 1919. He received his education at Central Wesleyan College at Warrenton and at Robinson's Seminary at Danville. The first seven years of his active business life were spent in the service of the old North Missouri Railway Company. In 1873 he was associated with his father at Warrenton in the practice of law. The following year he was elected prosecuting attorney of Warren county and served in that capacity for 16 years. He became assistant United States Attorney in 1898 and from 1902 to 1910 was United States Marshal for the eastern district of Missouri. He was prominent in local affairs and served as mayor of Warrenton for many years.

Hon. James P. O'Bannon: Born in Dallas county, Missouri, July 3, 1858; died at Buffalo, Missouri, April 14, 1919. His early life was spent on a farm in Dallas county. In 1882 he was elected to the office of circuit clerk and later served as recorder of deeds and clerk of the government land office at Springfield. He was a member of the Senate from the 36th to the 39th General Assemblies. In 1896 he was elected president of the

Dallas County State Bank at Buffalo and in 1901 organized the O'Bannon Banking Company, of which organization he served as president until his death.

Judge John F. Philips: Born December 31, 1834 in Boone county, Missouri; died March 13, 1919, at Hot Springs, Arkansas. He was graduated from the University of Missouri in 1853 and from Center College, Kentucky, in 1855. Two years later he was admitted as a member of the Missouri bar. He was the last surviving member of the convention called by Governor Jackson of Missouri in 1861 to determine the relation of the state with the Federal Union. At the outbreak of the Civil War he organized the 7th Missouri Cavalry and became its Colonel, serving throughout the war. At the close of the war he went to Sedalia and formed a law partnership with Judge Russell Hicks and the late Senator Vest. He was later elected as Representative to the 44th and 49th Congresses. In 1883 he was named a commissioner of the Missouri Supreme Court and in 1885 became one of the judges of the Kansas City Court of Appeals. In 1888 President Cleveland appointed him judge of the United States District Court for the Western District of Missouri. He retired from the Federal bench in 1910.

Hon. Truman S. Powell: Born October 25, 1842, in La-Salle county, Illinois; died at Jefferson City, Missouri, March 14, 1919. He fought throughout the Civil War as a member of Sherman's army, holding the unique record of fighting in every battle that the army engaged in. He was one of the publishers of the old *Carthage Advance*. In 1874 he located in Barton county and was publisher of the *Barton County Advocate*. In 1880 he again moved, this time to Galena to become the publisher of the *Stone County Oracle*. Twelve years later he retired to a homestead and engaged in farming and fruit raising. He served in the 44th General Assembly as Representative from Stone county and was a member of the 50th in the same capacity at the time of his death. He gained considerable notoriety as the original of "Dad Howitt," the title character in Harold Bell Wright's book, "The Shepherd of the Hills."

Dr. R. D. Shannon: Born in Georgia; died at Sedalia, Missouri, March 18, 1919. He came to Missouri in 1850 and was

educated at the University of Missouri, of which his father was at that time president. In 1875 he was elected State Superintendent of Schools, acting in that capacity for eight years. Later he was superintendent of schools at Louisiana and Joplin and a member of the faculty of the Warrensburg State Normal School. He retired from active work several years ago.

Mrs. Caroline Abbot Stanley: Born in Callaway county, Missouri, August 16, 1849; died at Fulton, Missouri, January 13, 1919. Mrs. Stanley was educated in Fulton, moving to Pleasant Hill in 1868, where she was married in 1871. Her husband died a few years later and she devoted her time to teaching school at Kalamazoo, Michigan. In 1896 she gave up teaching to devote all of her time to writing. Her best known book is "Order No. 11." Other works include "A Modern Madonna," "The Master of the Oaks," and "The Keeper of the Vineyard."

C. N. Tolman: Born at Bountiful, Utah, January 24, 1871; died at Macon, Missouri, March 5, 1919. After completing his education he spent his early life as a teacher, having been principal of schools at Plattsburg and Boonville, Missouri. For the past fifteen years he had been in the newspaper business, working at his profession in Boonville, Plattsburg, St. Joseph, Trenton, Kirksville and Macon. He was editor of the *Macon Daily Chronicle-Herald* at the time of his death.

HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN MISSOURI NEWSPAPERS.

SEPTEMBER, 1917—JULY, 1918, INCLUSIVE.

Adair County. Brashear, *News*

Dec. 28, 1917. An account of the first automobile in Kirksville and recollections of early-day motoring in Adair County; reprinted from the Kirksville *Daily News*.

——————— Kirksville, *Journa*

Sept. 13, 1917. Sketch of the life of Prof. A. P. Settle, Dean of Kirksville Normal School faculty.

Dec. 13, 1917 Sketch of the life of Dr. Andrew Taylor Still, father of Science of Osteopathy. (See also Kirksville *Graphic* for Dec. 14, and Kirksville *Express* for Dec. 12, 1917).

Apr. 11, 1918 Sketch of the life of P. F. Greenwood, pioneer attorney, member of Adair County Bar since 1872.

Andrew County. Savannah *Reporter*

Jan. 11, 1918 Sketch of the life of Judge John R. Caldwell, former county official. (See also Savannah *Democrat* for Jan. 18).

July 5, 1918 Savannah *Democrat*
Sketch of the life of J. L. Bennett, pioneer citizen and former county official.

Atchison County. Fairfax *Forum*

Apr. 5, 1918 Sketch of the life of Gustavus Bayha, pioneer.

Apr. 12, 1918 Sketch of the life of W. T. Bell, Confederate veteran.

——————— Rockport, *Atchison County Mail*

Oct. 19, 1917 Reminiscences of High Creek community in former years.

Dec. 14, 1917 Sketch of the life of Hon. A. E. Wyatt, legislator and pioneer citizen.

Jan. 11, 1918 Sketch of the life of Judge R. E. Christian, pioneer citizen and politician.

Feb. 8, 1918 Sketch of the life of W. F. Rankin, extensive farmer of Atchison County.

Apr. 19, 1918 Sketch of the life of Sylvester Hall, pioneer.

May 17, 1918 Sketch of the life of Alexander Gibb, former county official.

——————— Tarkio, *Avalanche*

Nov. 2, 1917 Sketch of the life of John McNulty, Union veteran and Atchison County pioneer.

Jan. 25, 1918 Reminiscences of York Church, J. N. Ely tells of the founding of Presbyterian Church.

Audrain County. Mexico, *Intelligencer* (weekly)

Sept. 20, 1917 Sketch of the life of Col. J. H. Talbot, Confederate secret service veteran.

——— Mexico, *Missouri Message*

Jan. 17, 1918 The weather 100 years ago, statistics of 1816.

——— Mexico, *Weekly Ledger*

Apr. 25, 1918 Some history of Ringo Hotel, told in connection with an account of its burning. (See also *Weekly Intelligencer* for Apr. 25).

——— Vandalia, *Leader*

Dec. 28, 1918 Missouri's Centennial, reprinted from the Columbia *Evening Missourian.*

May 3, 1918 The Price Family in Pike County, reprinted from the Louisiana *Press-Journal.*

July 12, 1918 Sketch of the life of Capt. Thomas Alford, pioneer citizen and Confederate veteran. Sketch contains account of Capt. Alford's trip to California in the '49's. See also Vandalia *Mail* for July 5.

——— ———, *Mail*

Nov. 23, 1917 Sketch of the life of W. L. Shattuck, Union veteran and pioneer citizen.

Jan. 4, 1918 Persons and places of other days, reminiscences of pioneer days. See also issue of Jan. 11.

Barry County. Monett, *Times*

Apr. 5, 1918 Sketch of the life of R. L. Matthews, former county official and Civil War veteran.

Apr. 26, 1918 Special industrial edition, with sketch of Monett industries, churches, schools, prominent citizens and short history of the town.

Barton County. Lamar, *Democrat*

Mar. 14, 1918 Sketch of the life of M. L. Stewart, Union veteran and pioneer farmer and traveling salesman.

——— Lamar, *Republican-Sentinel*

Jan. 31, 1918 Sketch of the life of Lafayette Lesher, Union veteran.

Feb. 21, 1918 Sketch of the life of F. W. Horselton, Union veteran.

Mar. 14, 1918 Sketch of the life of M. L. Stewart, Union veteran.

——— Liberal, *News*

May 24, 1918 Sketch of the life of Emery S. Bowen, Union veteran.

Bates County. Butler, *Bates County Democrat*

Sept. 20, 1917 Half century ago in beautiful Butler, recollections of Mrs. Emma Sherman.

Nov. 8, 1917 Some interesting church history, how and when Presbyterian Church was organized in Butler.

Mar. 7, 1918 Interesting historical facts about Butler.

——— ———, *Bates County Record*

Mar. 1, 1918 On historic ground, some facts about site of old Harmony mission.

———— Butler, *Republican-Press*

May 17, 1918 "About General Pershing"; reprinted from the *Kansas City Star*.

May 24, 1918 Sketch of the life of James R. Boyles, Confederate veteran.

———— ————, *Times*

Apr. 25, 1918 Sketch of the life of F. C. Smith, Civil War veteran, member of Bledsoe's battery.

May 2, 1918 Sketch of the life of J. C. Clark, pioneer citizen and former county official. (See also the Butler *Republican-Press* for May 3).

Sketch of the life of Thomas J. Smith, attorney and former county official. (See also the Butler, *Bates County Democrat* for May 2, and the *Republican Press* for May 3).

Bollinger County. Marble Hill, *Press*

Sept. 6, 1917 Sketch of the life of Mayor J. S. Hill, Confederate veteran and pioneer newspaper man.

Oct. 11, 1917 History of Presbyterian Church in Bollinger County.

Boone County. Ashland, *Bugle*

Oct. 18, 1917 From a journal of 1857, prices of commodities for that year.

Feb. 7, 1918 Sketch of the life of W. T. Hall, Confederate veteran.

———— Centralia, *Fireside Guard*

Sept. 7, 1917 Story of a buffalo hunt in the winter of 1876 and 1877.

Sept. 21, 1917 Reminiscences, description of rural life in Missouri before the Civil War.

Oct. 5, 1917 Battle of Lexington, a detailed account.

Oct. 19, 1917 Missouri history from 1803 to 1860.

Feb. 22, 1918 Pioneer Merchant—interesting items about early-day business men in Boone, especially Columbia.

———— Columbia, *Daily Times*

Feb. 5, 1918 Sketch of the life of F. A. Sampson, bibliographer and former secretary of the State Historical Society. See also Columbia *Daily Tribune* for Feb. 4 and Columbia *Evening Missourian* for Feb. 4.

Feb. 20, 1918 The Americanization of the State of Missouri, an address delivered in the House of Representatives by Congressman W. P. Borland; continued in succeeding issues.

Mar. 9, 1918 Masonry in Boone County, a historical sketch by C. B. Sebastian.

Apr. 2, 1918 The connecting link between past and present, report of committee on disposition of old court house bell.

Apr. 17, 1918 Educational Boone; a history of the educational institutions of Columbia and Boone County since 1839, by Mrs. Ida Branham. (Continued in issues of Apr. 18 and 19).

———— ————, *Daily Tribune*

Oct. 27, 1917 Masonry in Columbia, facts concerning early Masonic Chapter in Columbia.

Dec. 7, 1917 Sketch of the life of Shannon C. Douglass, Kansas City lawyer formerly of Columbia.

Dec. 19, 1917 Columbia Methodists, history of church in Columbia.
Jan. 19, 1918 Sketch of the life of Dr. B. A. Watson, pioneer physician and Confederate veteran. (See also Columbia *Missourian* for Jan. 20).
Feb. 13, 1918 Old court house bell once more, sketch of historic relic.
Mar. 23, 1918 Rev. Anderson Woods, pioneer preacher, 1816-41.

———————, ———————, *Evening Missourian*

Sept. 7, 1917 Boone, the pioneer, interesting sketch and incidents in life of famous pioneer.
Sept. 7, 1917 Taverns and stage lines in Columbia in early days.
Nov. 7, 1917 Letters tell tragedy of pioneer Columbian, sketch of Thomas Miller, first president of Columbia College, forerunner of the University.
Nov. 25, 1917 Church celebrates centennial, data concerning Ashland Christian Church.
Dec. 2, 1917 Ashland Christian Church now and a century ago, sketch with illustrations.
Dec. 7, 1917 Sketch of the life of Shannon C. Douglass, Kansas City lawyer and former Columbian.
Jan. 14, 1918 Blackfoot gravel toll-gate unique in interest, historical data.
Mar. 11, 1918 Columbia woman saw Centralia massacre of Sept. 27, 1864.
Mar. 18, 1918 Printing relic still in use; a type stand 99 years old.
Mar. 22, 1918 Citizens appeal to erect historic bell, with data on old court house bell.
Mar. 23, 1918 Old furniture cherished in Columbians' homes.
Apr. 16, 1918 Sketch of the life of Rev. James C. Burgess, pioneer and Confederate veteran. See also Columbia *Daily Tribune* for April 16.
Apr. 20, 1918 Anniversary of Father of the University; sketch of the life of James Sidney Rollins.
Apr. 27, 1918 Missouri had only one senator from 1855 to 1857.
May 6, 1918 The first brick house built in Columbia, a historic sketch of old home of Gov. Chas. H. Hardin.
Ten years of Progress; sketch of Columbia's improvements since 1908.
Gains made by University; a glimpse of ten years growth.
Some pioneers of Columbia, reminiscences of E. W. Stephens.
School of Journalism; a historical sketch.
May 8, 1918 "Charm of the Old South lingers in Guitar house"; description of old home of Gen. Odon Guitar and short sketch of his life.
May 9, 1918 Sketch of Major-General E. H. Crowder.
May 31, 1918 Savitar was issued first time in 1895; also a sketch of various volumes since.
June 3, 1918 When Academic Hall was a Federal prison, a Civil War incident.

———————, ———————, *Herald-Statesman*

Sept. 13, 1917 Taverns and stage lines in Columbia in early days.
Nov. 26, 1917 Christian Church centennial; history of church at Ashland.
Mar. 11, 1918 Columbia woman saw the Centralia Massacre of Sept. 27, 1864.

Apr. 18, 1918 Sketch of the life of Rev. James G. Burgess, Confederate veteran.
May 9, 1918 Sketch of the life of Robert Smith, pioneer citizen and former county official.
May 9, 1918 "Charm of Old South lingers in Guitar house"; with short sketch of General Odon Guitar.
June 3, 1918 When Academic Hall was a Federal prison; a Civil War incident as related by N. T. Gentry.

Buchanan County. DeKalb, *Tribune*
Sept. 7, 1917 Reminiscences of DeKalb and vicinity, third of series of articles by W. A. Bowen. See also issues of Sept. 14 and Sept. 21.
Apr. 19, 1918 Sketch of the life of John Graves, pioneer.

——— St. Joseph, *Catholic Tribune*
Oct. 13, 1917 Centennial of founding of See of St. Louis historical, sketch.
Mar. 2, 1918 Golden jubilee of St. Joseph diocese, with data.
June 22, 1918 Sketch of Joseph Robidoux, the founder of the city of St. Joseph.
The Platte Purchase, a short history of the territory comprising it.
Our great state of Missouri—historical and other data.
Sketch of St. Joseph business firms.

——— ———, *Gazette*
Nov. 16, 1917 Sketch of the life of David W. Reisch, Union veteran.
Dec. 2, 1917 He "stumbled" into banking; reminiscences of banking methods fifty years ago, by Thomas W. Evans.
When news came that a hero had died; recollections of battle of Franklin, Tenn., and death of Col. R. C. Bradshaw.
Dec. 12, 1917 Sketch of the life of John S. Brittain, pioneer wholesale drygoods merchant of St. Joseph.
Dec. 23, 1917 Pershing a soldier by accident; incident which caused General Pershing to enter the army.
Dec. 30, 1917 "Lucky" Francis, our envoy to Petrograd, incidents concerning, and life sketch of David R. Francis.

——— ———, *News-Press*
Nov. 9, 1917 Sketch of the life of D. T. Lysaght, Mexican War veteran.
Dec. 4, 1917 Sketch of the life of Michael Whalen, Union veteran and a pony express rider in early days.
Dec. 12, 1917 Sketch of the life of John S. Brittain, pioneer wholesale dry goods merchant of St. Joseph.
Dec. 23, 1917 Pershing a soldier by accident; incident which caused General Pershing to enter the army.
Dec. 30, 1917 "Lucky" Francis, our envoy to Petrograd, incidents concerning, and life sketch of Dav'd R. Francis.

——— ———. *News-Press*
Nov. 9, 1917 Sketch of the life of D. T. Lysaght, Mexican War veteran.
Dec. 4, 1917 Sketch of the life of Michael Whalen, Union veteran and a pony express rider in early days.
Dec. 12, 1917 Sketch of the life of John S. Brittain, pioneer wholesale dry goods merchant of St. Joseph.

Dec.	25, 1917	How Pershing got in the army, incident which started Pershing on his military career.
Jan.	8, 1918	Sketch of the life of Louis Huggins, pioneer manufacturer of St. Joseph.
Feb.	6, 1918	Sketch of the life of Patrick Martin, Union veteran, with Sherman on his march to the sea.
Feb.	13, 1918	Hon. J. M. Limbird, Union veteran, lawyer and politician.
July	3, 1918	Church's Anniversary; some data regarding Zion Evangelical Church on its 60th anniversary.
July	20, 1918	To honor Doniphan; with some historical data.
July	27, 1918	Tribute to Doniphan; a short sketch of his life and activities.

———————, ———————, *Observer.*

Sept.	1, 1917	When the swine cavorted on Felix street, recollections of St. Joseph in early seventies. Was a Chesterfield of St. Joseph; recollections of Col. Leonidas M. Lawson, from "Bygones" by Frank H. Brooks. (See also issues of Sept. 8, Sept. 15, Sept. 22 and Sept. 29.)
Sept.	22, 1917	A historic tree, situated in northeastern Buchanan County, on which Lewis and Clark carved their names in 1804.
Nov.	10, 1917	John Colter, discoverer of a hell; story of discovery of Yellowstone Park by member of Lewis and Clark expedition.
Dec.	1, 1917	When St. Joseph was not as big as now; recollections of early days by C. N. Van Pelt.
Dec.	29, 1917	Newspaper story started General Pershing on army career.
Jan.	12, 1918	Was here in time of the brilliant "Field"; sketch of Col. Wm. B. Watts, Confederate veteran.
Apr.	13, 1918	When Lee surrendered; reminiscences of a Civil War veteran.
May	4, 1918	"His house cost him total of 50c"; incidents in pioneer life of John Graves.
May	25, 1918	Missouri's creditable line of senators, with some historical information concerning them.

Caldwell County. Hamilton, *Farmers Advocate*

Jan.	17, 1918	Sketch of the life of Frank L. Parker, pioneer citizen and former county official.
Feb.	14, 1918	Sketch of the life of Judge Wm. Ure, Sr., pioneer and former county official.
Mar.	7, 1918	Sketch of the life of G. B. Johnston, Union veteran.
May	2, 1918	Sketch of the life of Jefferson Van Note, Union veteran.

——————— Cowgill, *Chief*

July	26, 1918	Sketch of the life of W. J. Cullumber, Union veteran.

——————— Kingston, *Mercury*

May	17, 1918	Sketch of the life of Sanford P. Burns, Union veteran.

Callaway County. Fulton, *Gazette*

Dec.	13, 1917	Sketch of the life of Henry Stults Houf, former Callaway County legislator.
Feb.	7, 1918	Sketch of the life of John T. Yates, Confederate veteran.
May	2, 1918	Sketch of the life of John W. Booth, Confederate veteran.

———————— ————————, *Missouri Telegram*

Nov. 30, 1917 Church 100 years old, account of centennial of Ashland Christian Church.

An old relic, history of pair of andirons made in Callaway County early in nineteenth century.

Dec. 28, 1917 History of Stock Sales Day and other live stock history of Callaway County during the past forty-one years. Reprinted from *Farm Progress*.

May 3, 1918 Sketch of the life of Dr. Walter E. Reily, county official. See also Fulton *Gazette* for May 2.

June 21, 1918 Sketch of the life of T. W. Henderson, pioneer citizen, a great-grandson of Daniel Boone.

———————— Mokane, *Missourian*

Apr. 26, 1918 Sketch of the life of Drury Hall, Union veteran.

May 24, 1918 The passing of the Klein Company; sketch of a firm engaged in business in St. Aubert township for 30 years.

———————— New Bloomfield, *News*

May 9, 1918 Sketch of the life of W. S. Clatterbuck, Confederate veteran.

Cape Girardeau County. Cape Girardeau, *Southeast Missourian*

May 17, 1918 Sketch of the life of Judge B. F. Davis, former county official and prominent member of the bar of Cape Girardeau county.

July 26, 1918 Sketch of the life of John Bonney, pioneer banker of Cape Girardeau.

———————— ————————, *Weekly Republican*

Sept. 7, 1917 An old war order, dated Aug. 22, 1846, from Col. 9ohn F. Hase of Seventh Regiment to Capt. Geo. Huff.

Oct. 19, 1917 Sketch of the life of C. D. Matthews, southeast Missouri's wealthiest citizen.

Oct. 26, 1917 Sketch of the life of Rev. J. C. Maple, senior Baptist minister of Missouri.

———————— Jackson, *Missouri Cash-Book*

Dec. 13, 1917 Williams Creek, some history of early settlers in Cape Girardeau district.

Dec. 27, 1917 Extracts from old Jackson papers in years 1842 and 1851.

Carroll County. Carrollton, *Democrat*

May 3, 1918 Sketch of the life of Charls A. Cunningham, former county official.

July 12, 1918 Sketch of the life of M. V. Wright, pioneer citizen and former county official.

———————— ————————, *Republican-Record*

Jan. 3, 1918 Sketch of the life of W. H. Merrell, Union veteran.

Mar. 21, 1918 Autobiography of J. D. Parsley, Union veteran.

———————— Hale, *Hustler-Leader*

May 10, 1918 Sketch of the life of W. S. Hall, Union veteran.

———————— Norborne, *Leader*

May 9, 1918 Sketch of the life of John W. Barkley, Union veteran.

Carter County. Van Buren, *Current Local*

Sept. 20, 1917 Searching for lost mine, history of copper mine discovered in 1830.

Nov. 1, 1917 Some war reminiscences by a Civil War veteran.

Jan. 24, 1918 Sketch of the life of Wm. Griffin, Confederate veteran.

Feb. 21, 1918 Sketch of the life of H. A. Holland, pioneer and former county official.

Feb. 28, 1918 Sketch of the life of F. M. Carter, pioneer and former county official.

Cass County. Belton, *Herald*

Jan. 31, 1918 Sketch of the life of W. J. Gore, Confederate veteran.

Mar. 28, 1918 Sketch of the life of Ransom Hipsher, Confederate veteran.

July 11, 1918 Sketch of the life of Edward F. West, Confederate veteran.

July 25, 1918 Letter written in 1856, giving some notes on pioneer life in Kansas.

———————— Drexel, *Star*

Jan. 24, 1918 Sketch of the life of W. L. Ellison, Union veteran.

Feb. 7, 1918 Sketch of the life of George Glendining, Union veteran.

———————— Harrisonville, *Cass County Democrat*

Sept. 6, 1917 Missouri Bygones, Roll call of some schoolboys of St. Joseph, twenty-second of a series, by Frank H. Brooks. See also issue of Sept. 13.

Sept. 20, 1917 A marriage feast without the bride, a romance of the '60's.

Nov. 8, 1917 Old lodge at Pleasant Hill; sketch of Odd Fellows chapter instituted in 1854.

Nov. 16, 1917 Recalling some history, an item relating to railroad bond history of Cass County.

Mar. 14, 1918 Sketch of the life of Thomas Black, Union veteran.

Mar. 21, 1918 Sketch of the life of C. A. Middleton, pioneer newspaper man.

May 2, 1918 Sketch of the life of Felix G. Jackson, former newspaper editor of Harrisonville, by Frank H. Brooks. See also issue of May 9.

———————— ————————, *Cass County Leader*

Jan. 31, 1918 Sketch of the life of John Barker, Union veteran. See also Harrisonville *Cass County Democrat* for Jan. 31.

May 2, 1918 Sketch of the life of J. W. Smith, Union veteran.

———————— Pleasant Hill, *Times*

Sept. 7, 1917 Sketch of the life of William Smoot, pioneer citizen and former Missouri river steamboat captain.

Sept. 28, 1917 Eighty-three years old, historical review of Blue Ridge Baptist Association.

Nov. 2, 1917 An old lodge; historical sketch of Occidental lodge of Odd Fellows at Pleasant Hill.

Apr. 19, 1918 Sketch of the life of B. T. McDonald, Confederate veteran.
July 12, 1918 Sketch of the life of Col. James P. Parker, Confederate veteran.
July 26, 1918 Pioneer graves; inscriptions from an old family burying ground of the '40's.

Cedar County. Jerico Springs, *Optic*
Jan. 4, 1918 Mosby on Missouri, from Flag Day Address, 1917.

Chariton County. Keytesville, *Chariton Courier*
Jan. 11, 1918 Sketch of the life of Judge J. B. Hyde, Confederate veteran and former county official.
Mar. 1, 1918 Happenings of the past; the tale of the mysterious Dr. Sturman of Chariton County.
——————— Mendon, *Constitution*
Feb. 1, 1918 Eleven years ago; list of Mendon business firms of that year.
Mar. 8, 1918 Historic field glasses used by General Sterling Price in Civil War, donated to Navy.

——————— Salisbury, *Press-Spectator*
Nov. 16, 1917 Brief history of the Missouri W. C. T. U.
June 28, 1918 An old fashioned garb doctor; story of the mysterious doctor of Chariton County in the '70's; reprinted from the Fayette *Advertiser*.

Christian County. Ozark, *Christian County Republican*
Feb. 1, 1918 Back in 1846, prices of that year taken from an old sale bill.

Clark County. Kahoka, *Clark County Courier*
Oct. 12, 1917 Old Settlers' Day, reminiscences of Clark County from an address delivered by J. W. Murphy. See also *Gazette-Herald* for Oct. 12.
Nov. 12, 1917 Historical sketch of Clark County, by Jasper Blines.
Feb. 15, 1918 Clark County historical sketches; see also issues of Feb. 22 and March 8.
Mar. 8, 1918 Historical sketch of William McKee Post, 110 G. A. R.

Apr. 26, 1918 An interesting story; reminiscences of R. B. Rodgers, late editor of Wyaconda *News*, of his early activities in the newspaper game in Missouri.
——————— ———————, *Gazette-Herald*
Sept. 21, 1917 Clark County's oldest apple tree.
Oct. 26, 1917 Old Churchville and elsewhere, incidents in early history of Clark County.
Nov. 2, 1917 Historical sketches of Clark County, by Jasper Blines. See also issues of Nov. 23, Nov. 30, Dec. 7, Dec. 14 and Dec. 21.
Jan. 11, 1918 Some light on the Alexandria College—historical data.
Feb. 1, 1918 Old Churchville and elsewhere; continued in issue of February 8.
Feb. 15, 1918 Alexandria College—historical sketch.
Mar. 8, 1918 Some history on the early trials of railroad building.

Mar. 15, 1918 Clark County historical records; see also issue of March 22.
Apr. 5, 1918 Clark County Historical Records; see also issue of April 26.
May 3, 1918 Chapters of Clark County History. Various subjects treated of under this heading; see issues of May 17, June 7, 14, 21, 28 and July 12 and 19.

Clay County. Excelsior Springs, *Standard*
Apr. 22, 1918 Missouri's health resort; a pen picture of Excelsior Springs in the early '80's.

——————— Liberty, *Advance*
Sept. 28, 1917 Recollections of pioneer life in Missouri, James M. Dyker of Plattsburg.
Nov. 23, 1917 An account of the Mountain Meadow Massacre in Utah, by W. J. Courtney.
Jan. 11, 1918 Missouri's greatest Soldier, a short account of Colonel Doniphan.
June 7, 1918 Civil War Recollections, by W. J. Courtney; Incidents of the Missouri campaign.
July 26, 1918 "Will honor Doniphan;" with short sketch of famous expedition.

——————— ———————, *Tribune*
Sept. 7, 1917 Recalls funeral of Gen. Doniphan at Liberty, with list of pall-bearers.
Sept. 21, 1917 Romance of Mark Twain's mother, being a letter from Mark Twain to William Dean Howells. Reprinted from "Mark Twain's Letters" in *Harper's Magazine*.
Jan. 4, 1918 Early days in Missouri, by the late Judge Joseph Thorpe; first published in 1883. See also issues of Jan. 25 and March 29.
Mar. 8, 1918 Sketch of the life of Judge E. J. Broaddus, Confederate veteran and noted judge.
Apr. 12, 1918 Early days in Missouri; last of a series of articles by the late Judge Joseph Thorpe.
May 10, 1918 Prices 50 years ago.
June 14, 1918 Tribute to Doniphan; reprinted from the St. Louis *Republic*.
July 5, 1918 When Benton was sued; story of slander suit brought against Thomas H. Benton by Judge James H. Birch. Reprinted from the Kansas City *Times*.
July 26, 1918 The Doniphan statute, with notes on the famous leader.

——————— Smithville, *Democrat-Herald*
June 7, 1918 Sketch of the life of John T. Douglas, Union veteran.

Clinton County. Cameron, *Sun*
May 16, 1918 Sketch of the life of P. D. Hinchey, Civil War veteran.

——————— Plattsburg, *Clinton County Democrat*
Mar. 1, 1918 Some first things in Clinton County.
May 10, 1918 James H. Birch, Sr., pioneer newspaper man and early legislator—James H. Birch, Jr., Mexican and Civil War veteran and State Senator.

———————— ————————, *Leader*

Nov. 9, 1917 Clinton County pioneers.
Dec. 14, 1917 Some history of the first church of the Brethren. Atchison township; some early day history.
Dec. 21, 1917 Concord township.
Dec. 28, 1917 Lathrop township.
Jan. 18, 1918 Lafayette township; some early-day history.
June 7, 1918 Churches' 75th anniversary; historical facts concerning the Liberty Baptist Church, by Prof. Ward H. Edwards.

Cole County. Jefferson City, *Democrat-Tribune*

Dec. 5, 1917 Origin of expression "I'm from Missouri."
Dec. 8, 1917 Account of razing of Winston residence, log cabin built by Thomas Winston, Sr., before the Civil War.

———————— ————————, *Missouri School Journal*

Feb. —, 1918 A short history of Rocheport High School Clubs, by Elmer M. Mace.
The Constitution of Missouri—How it was made and how it may be changed, by Prof. Eugene Fair.

Cooper County. Boonville, *Central Missouri Republican*

Sept. 13, 1917 Battle's anniversary; account of battle between Boonville Home Guards and Confederate troops, Sept. 13, 1861.
Jan. 3, 1918 Sketch of the life of James W. Suddath, pioneer and widely known jurist.
May 9, 1918 Sketch of the life of A. A. Walker, pioneer citizen, noted politician and Union veteran. See also Bunceton *Eagle* for May 10.

———————— Bunceton, *Eagle*

Mar. 22, 1918 Sketch of the life of J. H. Speed, Confederate veteran.
May 17, 1918 Sketch of the life of William Sly, Union veteran.

Crawford County. Steelville, *Ledger*

Sept. 13, 1917 Sketch of the life of J. A. Wilson, Crawford county official. See also Steelville *Mirror*

Dade County. Greenfield, *Dade County Advocate*

July 25, 1918 Sketch of the life of William R. Bowles, for 31 years editor of the Dade County *Advocate*. See also the Greenfield *Vedette* for July 25.

———————— ————————, *Vedette*

Jan. 31, 1918 Sketch of the life of Phil S. Griffith, publisher of the *Vedette*. See also Greenfield *Dade County Advocate* for January 31.
Mar. 21, 1918 Sketch of Col. Joseph W. Carmack, Union veteran.
Mar. 28, 1918 A bit of Civil War history; L. L. H. Carlock writes of experiences while with Gen. Price's Confederate army.

Dallas County. Buffalo, *Record*

Mar. 21, 1918 Sketch of the life of John George, Confederate veteran.
May 2, 1918 Sketch of the life of W. D. Cheek, Union veteran.

Daviess County. Gallatin, *Democrat*

Jan. 17, 1918 How Missouri lost a sacred city; Story of Adam-on-di-Amon, by Lee Shippey, reprinted from Kansas City *Star*.

Apr. 25, 1918 Sketch of the life of Dr. W. L. Brosius, pioneer physician. See also Gallatin *North Missourian* for April 25th.

——————— Pattonsburg, *Call*

June 6, 1918 Fifty years ago; some reminiscences of Daviess County at that time.

——————— Winston, *Sentinel*

May 9, 1918 Winston in the '80's; a business directory of the city in 1882.

DeKalb County. Clarksdale, *Journal*

Sept. 13, 1917 A brief history of Boxford.

July 11, 1918 The old Boxford picnic; a historical sketch of local celebration known as "Boxford Day".

July 25, 1918 Sketch of the life of Andrew J. Brown, Union veteran.

——————— Osborn, *Enterprise*

Nov. 2, 1917 Sketch of the life of Joseph Crawford, Union veteran.

——————— Stewartsville, *Record*

June 27, 1918 A half century ago; W. H. Rogers writes of Fourth of July celebration in 1870.

——————— Union Star, *Herald*

May 2, 1918 The founding of Union Star.

Dent County. Salem, *Monitor*

June 20, 1918 Sketch of the life of John M. Berry, former county official and Confederate veteran. See also the Salem *News* for June 20.

July 18, 1918 Sketch of the life of Jasper Plank, Confederate veteran.

Douglass County. Ava, *Douglas County Herald*

Feb. 7, 1918 History of Ava School.

Dunklin County. Campbell, *Citizen*

Jan. 4, 1918 Sketch of the life of J. P. Tribble, former Missouri legislator.

——————— Kennett, *Dunklin County News*

May 3, 1918 Sketch of the life of W. G. Dragg, pioneer business man and former county official.

July 19, 1918 Some interesting events in the life of a pioneer citizen—Virgil McKay.

——————— Kennett, *Dunklin Democrat*

Dec. 28, 1917 Sketch of the life of J. P. Tribble, former Missouri legislator. See also Kennett *Dunklin County News* for Dec. 28.

Mar. 22, 1918 A political relic—Democrat ticket for Presidential election of 1876.
Mar. 29, 1918 More political history; an incident of early-day railroading.
July 26, 1918 History of Ward school.

Franklin County. Union, *Republican Headlight*
Dec. 7, 1917 Sketch of the life of John W. Cole, Union veteran.

———————— ————————, *Franklin County Tribune*
Nov. 9, 1917 Sketch of the life of C. L. Moore, pioneer citizen.

Gasconade County. Bland, *Courier*
Apr. 26, 1918 Sketch of the life of H. E. Green, Union veteran.

———————— Hermann, *Advertiser-Courier*
Feb. 6, 1918 Sketch of the life of August Wacker, Union veteran.
Feb. 20, 1918 Sketch of the life of Conrad Groeber, Union veteran.

Gentry County. Albany, *Capital*
Nov. 8, 1917 Sketch of the life of W. Sam Wightman, former editor of the *Bethany Republican*.
Nov. 15, 1917 Sketch of the life of John Thompson, pioneer citizen and former Gentry County official. See also Albany *Ledger* for Nov. 15.
May 9, 1918 Sketch of the life of J. W. Barkley, Union veteran.

———————— ————————, *Ledger*
Jan. 31, 1918 Early days in Gentry County, reminiscences of Mrs. J. E. McGuire; continued issues of Feb. 7, 14, 21 and March 7.
Mar. 28, 1918 Sketch of the life of R. J. N. Dorsey, Confederate veteran.
Sketch of the life of James M. Higginbotham, Union veteran.

———————— King City, *Chronicle*
Jan. 25, 1918 Sketch of the life of John Turner, Union veteran.
Feb. 1, 1918 Some old papers; news items of the '60's.

Greene County. Republic, *Monitor*
Dec. 27, 1917 Sketch of the life of A. J. Davis, Union veteran.

———————— Springfield, *Republican*
Apr. 14, 1918 Ozark woman; survivor of Maximillian's expedition to Mexico.
Apr. 27, 1918 Civil War veteran recalls Arkansas campaign.

Grundy County. Trenton, *Weekly Republican*
Sept. 6, 1917 Sketch of the life of O. J. Rockwell, pioneer citizen.
Dec. 20, 1917 Life sketch of Charles W. Scott, pioneer citizen of Grundy County.
Dec. 27. 1917 Pershing's army life was sudden choice.

Harrison County Bethany, *Clipper*
Apr. 4, 1918 Sketch of the life of J. G. Tucker, pioneer.

———————— ————————, *Democrat*

Nov. 29, 1917 Sketch of the life of Dr. Jackson Walker, Union veteran and pioneer physician of Harrison County. See also Bethany *Clipper* for Nov. 29, and *Republican* for Nov. 21 and 28.

July 11, 1918 Sketch of the life of Hiram M. Travis, Confederate veteran.

———————— ————————, *Republican*

Sept. 26, 1917 Sketch of the life of Thomas D. Neal, Union veteran and founder of the *Republican*.

Mar. 27, 1918 Sketch of the life of Adam Tripp, Union veteran.

———————— Ridgeway, *Journal*

May 2, 1918 Sketch of the life of William Dale, Union veteran.

Henry County. Calhoun, *Clarion*

Nov. 29, 1917 Sketch of the life of Col. Edward Hugh Fox, native Missourian and Major-General in Spanish-American War.

———————— Windsor, *Review*

Nov. 8, 1917 So easy to forget; recollections of former years when three-cent postage was in effect.

Jan. 31, 1918 Mentions many old timers; reminiscences of Dr. M. T. Chastain.

Hickory County. Hermitage, *Index*

Jan. 3, 1918 Sketch of the life of Alf Lindsey, Union veteran.

Jan. 10, 1918 Sketch of the life of W. P. Dougherty, Union veteran.

Apr. 25, 1918 Sketch of the life of W. J. Shinn, Confederate veteran.

May 23, 1918 Sketch of the life of John B. Taylor, Union veteran.

May 30, 1918 Sketch of the life of E. N. Taylor, Union veteran.

Holt County. Mound City, *News-Jeffersonian*

Nov. 23, 1917 Sketch of the life of T. W. McCoy, pioneer citizen.

Apr. 5, 1918 Sketch of the life of Jacob Book, Union veteran.

Apr. 19, 1918 Appomattox; side lights on General Grant.

———————— Oregon, *Holt County Sentinel*

May 3, 1918 Sketch of the life of Lewis I. Moore, former county and city official and prominent business man.

July 12, 1918 Sketch of the life of George W. Cummins, Union veteran and former county official.

Howard County. Armstrong, *Herald*

Jan. 17, 1918 Sketch of the life of Col. John McCorkle, Confederate veteran who served under Quantrell. See also Glasgow *Missourian* for Jan. 17.

———————— Fayette, *Advertiser*

Oct. 24, 1917 Celebrates 100th birthday; historical sketch of Mt. Zion Missionary Baptist Church.

Nov. 21, 1917 Ashland Christian Church 100 years old; historical notes.

May 8, 1918 Has many relics; collection relating to early Missouri.

June 19, 1918 An old fashioned garb doctor; story of the mysterious doctor of Chariton County.
June 26, 1918 Missouri Intelligencer; review of issue of April 7, 1826.

——————— Glasgow, *Missourian*
Sept. 6, 1917 The schoolmasters of St. Joseph in the '50's.
Sept. 13, 1917 A roll call after 60 years of some of the schoolboys of St. Joseph. See also issue of Sept. 20.
Sept. 27, 1917 A marriage feast without the bride; a romance of the '60's.
June 27, 1918 Sketch of the life of Edward P. Graves, pioneer citizen of Kansas City.

——————— New Franklin, *News*
Nov. 23, 1917 Ashland Christian Church 100 years old; historical sketch.
Dec. 27, 1917 Sketch of the life of I. A. Bryan, pioneer citizen, and great grandson of Daniel Boone.

Howell County. West Plains, *Howell County Gazette*
Sept. 20, 1917 Sketch of the life of Capt. John Halstead, Union veteran.
Jan. 24, 1918 Sketch of the life of L. M. McCammon, oldest native born resident of Howell County.
Feb. 28, 1918 Sketch of the life of Judge Francis M. McCoy, former county official.
June 27, 1918 Sketch of the life of W. S. Johnson, Confederate veteran.

——————— ———————, *Journal*
Sept. 13, 1917 The Journal's birthday, incidents regarding founding of paper 47 years ago.

Jackson County. Blue Springs, *Sni-a-Bar Voice.*
May 17, 1918 Sketch of the life of John W. Tatum, Confederate veteran.
July 12, 1918 An old flag made in 1865.

——————— Independence, *Jackson Examiner*
Dec. 7, 1917 Sketch of the life of C. P. Patterson, Confederate veteran
June 14, 1918 Sketch of the life of Thaddeus W. Greene, Confederate veteran.

——————— Kansas City, *Catholic Register*
Oct. 18, 1917 The centenary of a great diocese; early history of Catholic Church in St. Louis.

——————— Kansas City, *Journal*
Sept. 23, 1917 Jokes about Missouri river, humor and information about great stream.
Sept. 27, 1917 Sketch of the life of B. E. Todd, instructor and registrar of Kansas City Law School.

——————— ———————, *Star*
Sept. 2, 1917 The old politician ruminates; memories of early-day politics in Kansas City.
Sept. 23, 1917 What has risen from the ashes of Missouri's capitol; pictures and description of new building.
Sept. 30, 1917 An oaken bridge that has stood since 1859; description of structure on Old Trails road in Boone County.

Oct. 5, 1917 Mosby, the dreaded raider, was a timid youth in 1861; extracts from his memoirs.

Oct. 7, 1917 Congressmen who have carried historic wallops; story of quarrel between Senator Benton of Missouri and Senator Foote of Mississippi.

Oct. 14, 1917 How order number eleven brought about a romance of the stage.

Kansas City's little red schoolhouse; historical buildings on the old Independence-Westport road.

New Yorkers found wealth in Missouri's waste; story of the growth of apple raising at Mayview, Missouri.

Oct. 18, 1917 Why America has had only five Generals; historical data concerning Generals Sherman, Grant, Sheridan, Bliss and Pershing.

Oct. 31, 1917 A voyage of re-discovery in Jackson County; stories of the old Kimsey farm in Blue township.

Nov. 4, 1917 Vanished glories of old steamboat days haunt a Jackson County ferryboat; reminiscences of John R. Marsh, pilot of the ferryboat, La Verna.

Some history of First Christian Church and Forest Avenue Christian Church, Kansas City.

Nov. 11, 1917 Deer play now with Jackson County's deer slayers; recollections of John H. Harris, famous as a hunter in pioneer days.

A famous Missouri host retires; stories of A. W. Marshall; for years owner of hotel at Mayview.

Nov. 17, 1917 Recollections of a meeting of the Missouri Teachers' Association in St. Louis in 1860.

Nov. 25, 1917 Bledsoe's battery and its silver cannon; stories of Missouri's famous fighting unit in the Civil War, by T. V. Bodine.

Mark Twain's first sweetheart, Becky Thatcher, tells of their childhood courtship; interview with Mrs. Laura Frazer of Hannibal, Mo., the original Becky Thatcher.

Nov. 27, 1917 Mark Twain advised use of dynamite in Russia; his views on Russian despotism from an unposted letter written in 1890.

Dec. 16, 1917 Recollections of frontier days by Major Drumm of the Kansas City stock exchange.

Dec. 23, 1917 The old timer in New York, Kansas City people who have made a success in the great city.

Dec. 25, 1917 Mark Twain's versatile brother, Orion Clemens, as summed up by the famous humorist.

Dec. 30, 1917 The last of the "Jehus," recollections of Bob Newcomb who has been hackman in Kansas City for 50 years.

Jan. 13, 1918 The seven able gun fighters from Kansas City; stories of the old days when the man who drew his gun quickest was the one that lived to tell the tale.

How Missouri lost a sacred city; short sketch of Adam-on-di-Amon.

War levels a Missouri forest; facts about the Howdeshell tract of walnut timber near Chillicothe.

Feb. 3, 1918 Mail by boat over Ozark snow, handling of inland mail in midwinter.

Feb. 10, 1918 A portrait from Venezuela, a painting of General Simon Bolivar, the Liberator of Venezuela, Columbia, Ecu-

dor, Peru and Bolivia, presented to city of Bolivar, Missouri, named for great adventurer.

Revived the "Wood Chopping Bee," story of Columbia's "bit" toward coal conservation.

Feb. 17, 1918 A German-American's work for world Democracy; sketch of Dr. Max F. Meyer of the University of Missouri.

Feb. 24, 1918 Just nine miles from the junction; some description of present day life in Jackson County.

Mar. 4, 1918 A Frenchman's sketch of Gen. Pershing, from French of Paul Fuchs in Je Sais Tout, Paris.

Mar. 10, 1918 Recollections of a Missouri Centenarian, Dr. J. S. Halstead of Breckenridge, Mo.

Mar. 20, 1918 Army swearing in Flanders a habit, immortalized in poem "In Flanders" by Eugene Field.

Mar. 24, 1918 New honors for a woman "ye editor"; short sketch of Mrs. S. E. Lee, editor the Savannah *Reporter*, president of the Northwest Missouri Press Association.

Mar. 31, 1918 The Ozarks plead not guilty—a descriptive sketch of the region.

Apr. 7, 1918 An interview with General Pershing.

Mark Twain's paper passes, stories of famous writer when he worked on Hannibal *Morning Journal*.

Apr. 8, 1918 The two French kings who once ruled Missouri; some history of Missouri as a part of a French province.

Apr. 21, 1918 Finding of lost springs recalls once famous pioneer preacher; some early history of Jackson County.

Apr. 25, 1918 General Lafayette's visit to Missouri.

May 5, 1918 Missouri's six greatest poets, by I. N. Evrard.

May 9, 1918 John Law, who developed a country he never saw; side lights on the Mississippi Bubble and its promoter.

May 25, 1918 The bride of the wilderness; notes on Mrs. George C. Sibley, first bride in Jackson County.

June 2, 1918 In one county 87 years ago; sketch of C. C. Chiles, pioneer business man of Jackson County.

June 4, 1918 When Benton was sued for slander; story of famous lawsuit instituted by Judge James H. Birch.

June 23, 1918 Tablet to early prophet—honor paid C. C. Spalding, author of "Annals of the city of Kansas."

June 26, 1918 Sketch of the life of Thomas P. Flahive, who spent 36 years on the police force of Kansas City.

July 9, 1918 "Seven places of birth," notes on Laclede's Fourth of July celebration and Gen. Pershing's boyhood home, by Dr. Burris A. Jenkins.

July 30, 1918 A machine gun lover from Missouri, sketch of Tracy Richardson, seven years in service. Adapted from Everybody's Magazine.

July 31, 1918 He recalls Mark Twain; reminiscences of John Pierson, pioneer railroad man.

———————, *Times*

Nov. 1, 1917 A beaver house served as trapper's sanctuary; how John Colter, discoverer of Yellowstone Park, escaped from the Indians by hiding in a beaver hut.

Nov. 9, 1917 James Carroll Beckwith who painted things as he saw them, sketch of native Missourian born in Hannibal in 1852, who attained national fame as a portrait artist.
Jan. 24, 1918 Missouri 100 years ago; extracts from booklet by Walter B. Stevens.
Mar. 2, 1918 In Kansas City 40 years ago; the hanging of one Green, convicted of murder of Deputy Marshal Henry Hughes.
Mar. 11, 1918 The old fashioned fireplace, by Bert Love.
Mar. 23, 1918 Mark Twain wrote an "Auto-Obituary."
May 4, 1918 Missouri artist is at his best at 83; life sketch of Matthew Hastings, St. Louis artist. Reprinted from St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*.
May 21, 1918 Missourian now a Bishop; sketch of career of Bishop W. F. McMurry, of M. E. Church South.
May 24, 1918 Man who spends billions; Col. Samuel McRoberts, formerly of Malta Bend, Mo., who attends to equipment of army.

——————— Lee's Summit, *Journal*
Dec. 20, 1917 A curious and interesting book, a ledger of accounts 127 years old.
Apr. 18, 1918 Sketch of the life of Samuel Dryden, Union veteran.

Jasper County. Carl Junction, *Standard*
Jan. 2, 1918 Twenty-two years ago; directory of prominent citizens of that date.
Jan. 11, 1918 Another old "*Standard*"; data of 1896.
Jan. 18, 1918 Carl Junction—a review of the town and its enterprises.
Feb. 1, 1918 Sketch of the life of J. B. Johnston, Union veteran.

——————— Carthage, *Jasper County Democrat*
Oct. 23, 1917 Sketch of the life of Major H. H. Harding, pioneer lawyer and statesman.
May 17, 1918 Sketch of the life of Alfred M. Skafford, Confederate veteran.

——————— ———————, *Press*
Nov. 8, 1917 Sketch of the life of C. W. Dykeman, Union veteran.
Jan. 31, 1918 Sketch of the life of Major J. L. Moore, Union veteran.
Apr. 4, 1918 Sketch of the life of Curtis Wright, Union veteran and pioneer mine developer.
Apr. 11, 1918 Sketch of the life of A. A. Lamkin, Union veteran and former county official.
Apr. 25, 1918 Sketch of the life of C. E. Elliott, Union veteran and former county official and state legislator. See also Joplin *News-Herald* for April 19.
June 7, 1918 Sketch of the life of J. W. McIntire, pioneer citizen, first city attorney of Joplin.

——————— Jasper, *News*
Jan. 31, 1918 Sketch of the life of H. F. Fox, Union veteran. See also Carthage *Press* for January 31.

——————— Joplin, *Globe*
Sept. 30, 1917 Story of race for life; how John Colter, discoverer of Yellowstone Park, saved himself from Indians by diving into beaver hut.

———————, ———————, *News-Herald*

Sept. 4, 1917 Sketch of the life of Joseph A. Hardy, pioneer mine owner. Origin and history of lead smelting in Missouri field; dealing with old methods used by Indians and hunters. Extracts from article in *Mining and Scientific Press.*

Feb. 26, 1918 What kind of man is General Pershing?—stories and incidents—continued in succeeding issues.

Apr. 7, 1918 Mining and Industrial edition; sketches of Joplin high school, new Y. M. C. A., lead Industry, geology of mining district, churches, roads and parks.

———————, Sarcoxie, *Record*

Jan. 4, 1918 Sketch of the life of I. J. M. Church, Confederate veteran. Sketch of the life of William Overall, Union veteran. Sketch of the life of John Barnes, Union veteran.

Jefferson County. DeSoto, *Jefferson County Republican*

July 12, 1918 Reminiscences of DeSoto 50 years ago.

July 19, 1918 What DeSoto was 28 years ago.

Johnson County. Warrensburg *Standard-Herald*

Oct. 5, 1917 Sketch of the life of C. S. Ferguson, Union veteran.

Dec. 21, 1917 Sketch of the life of John M. Gillilan, Confederate veteran.

Apr. 12, 1918 Sketch of the life of W. A. Porter, pioneer and former county official.

———————, ———————, *Star-Journal*

Sept. 14, 1917 Story of 40 years ago; Indian mounds discovered in 1878.

Sept. 18, 1917 How Simpson township was named.

Feb. 1, 1918 Sketch of the life of T. J. Cooper, Confederate veteran.

Knox County. Edina, *Knox County Journal*

July 11, 1918 Sketch of the life of Dr. A. J. Magee, pioneer physician and former state representative.

Lafayette County. Concordia, *Concordian*

Mar. 7, 1918 Civil War reminiscences during the 11 days prior to the battle of Lexington, Missouri.

———————, Higginsville, *Advance*

Sept. 7, 1917 A history of Higginsville, reprinted from a pamphlet written by W. S. Dornblaser, in 1890. Continued in issues of Sept. 14, 21 and Oct. 5.

Feb. 1, 1918 Sketch of the life of P. W. Osborn, former county official

July 26, 1918 The *Missouri Thalbots* quits, with short historical sketch.

———————, Lexington, *Intelligencer*

Jan. 11, 1918 Sketch of the life of James M. Peak, former county official.

———————, ———————, *News*

Apr. 25, 1918 Sketch of the life of G. W. Gass, Confederate veteran.

———————, Odessa, *Democrat*

Dec. 21, 1917 Sketch of the life of John M. Gillilan, Confederate veteran.

Apr. 19, 1918 Sketch of the life of R. P. Marshall, Confederate veteran.

———————— ————————, *Missouri Ledger*

Apr. 12, 1918 Some early Odessa history.
June 7, 1918 Reminiscences of Civil War; continued in issues of June 14 and July 12. By Mrs. S. L. McBurney.

Lawrence County. Marionville, *Free Press*

Mar. 21, 1918 Sketch of the life of George W. Owens, Union veteran.

———————— Peirce City *Journal*

June 14, 1918 Sketch of the life of H. C. Mills, Union veteran.

———————— ————————, *Leader*

Jan. 25, 1918 High School building destroyed by fire—was old Baptist College building.
Feb. 22, 1918 Sketch of Peirce City, Lawrence County, the Ozark country and the Peirce City Hereford Stock Sale.

Lewis County. LaBelle, *Star*

Mar. 1, 1918 Sketch of the life of Wm. T. Mitchell, former county official.
May 24, 1918 Sketch of the life of William Triplet, pioneer citizen and founder of LaBelle.

———————— Monticello, *Lewis County Journal*

Sept. 14, 1917 Some early history of Monticello as told by Ed Breen.
Feb. 22, 1918 Sketch of the life of Hon. Robert B. Caldwell, editor *Lewis County Journal*, former county official and state legislator.

Lincoln County. Elsberry *Democrat*

Feb. 8, 1918 Prices in the Civil War period.
Lincoln's Cabinet crisis.
Mar. 22, 1918 Sketch of the life of Richard H. Norton, former member of Congress; see also Troy *Free Press*.

———————— Silex, *Index*

May 16, 1918 Sketch of the life of Richard H. Norton, former member of Congress.

———————— Troy, *Free Press*

June 7, 1918 An interesting historic report, a sketch of Wood's Fort in Troy.
July 26, 1918 The old block house, a Civil War fort.

Linn County. Brookfield, *Gazette*

Sept. 8, 1917 Civil War veterans; recollections of a soldier of 50 years ago. See also issues of Oct. 6, 13, 20, 27; Nov. 3, 10, 17, 24; Dec. 1, 8, 15, 22.
Sept. 22, 1917 Sketch of the life of Judge Worthington Morehead, pioneer citizen and former county official.
Sept. 29, 1917 Days of Pershing's boyhood, extracts from article by Edgar White.
Jan. 5, 1918 In field and camps—and old soldier's memories of the Civil War; continued under various headings in issues of January 12, 19, 26, February 2, 9, 16, 23, March 2, 9, 16, 23 and 30.

Apr. 6, 1918 What we fought for; reminiscences of a Civil War veteran. Continued under various headings in issues of April 13th, 20th and 27th.
May 4, 1918 Blouses and tunics; reminiscences of the Civil War. Other recollections continued under various headings in issues of May 11, 18, 25, June 1, 8, 15, 22, 29; July 6, 13, 20 and 27.

———— Brookfield, *Linn County Budget*
Jan. 18, 1918 Some Pershing history.
Jan. 22, 1918 New light on Pershing's birth.

———— Browning, *Leader-Record*
Jan. 3, 1918 Long ago; review of two old newspapers of September 18, 1874, printed at Milan, Missouri; *Sullivan Gazette*, Vol. II, No. 3, and *Weekly Sullivan Standard*, Vol. III, No. 20.

———— Bucklin, *Herald*
May 24, 1918 Union saved by army of school boys, statistics and incidents regarding age of Federal soldiers in Civil War.

———— Laclede, *Blade*
Oct. 5, 1917 Sketch of the life of Albert H. Lane, Union veteran.
Jan. 11, 1918 Gen. Pershing's rise due to virtue of own effort.
Feb. 15, 1918 Liked Gen. Pershing; recollections of Mrs. J. H. Manning.
June 28, 1918 Sketch of the life of Dr. J. L. Burke, Union veteran.

———— Linneus, *Bulletin*
Nov. 22, 1917 Jefferson Davis' bodyguard; story of faithful negro servant. Reprinted from *The Visitor*.
Feb. 14, 1918 Sketch of the life of S. J. Phillips, former county official.

———— ————, *News*
Sept. 11, 1917 Sketch of the life of Josiah U. Luyster, Union veteran.
Nov. 23, 1917 Lincoln swapped horse; how he saved a country doctor from the clutches of a land shark in what is now Cass County. Reprinted from *Missouri Medical Journal*.
Feb. 15. 1918 Sketch of the life of W. W. Jones, Union veteran.

———— Marceline, *Herald*
Feb. 22, 1918 Sketch of the life of I. P. Kendrick, Confederate veteran.
Mar. 29, 1918 Sketch of the life of J. A. Julian, Union veteran.
May 3, 1918 Sketch of the life of John Weese, Union veteran.

Livingston County. Chillicothe, *Weekly Constitution*
Feb. 21, 1918 Sketch of the life of N. E. Kidder, Union veteran.

Macon County. LaPlata, *Republican*
Sept. 7, 1917 Tells of time when Pershing studied at Kirksville Reprinted from Kansas City *Times*.
Sept. 21. 1917 Sketch of the life of Judge J. A. Bragg, former Macon County official. Reprinted from Kirksville *Express*.

———————— Macon, Daily *Chronicle-Herald*

Sept. 1, 1917 Remembers war times in old Macon County; letter from an old resident.

Oct. 15, 1917 Sketch of the life of John A. Cook, pioneer citizen.

Oct. 25, 1917 "News were scarce" in days of 1773; contents of The Maryland Journal and The Baltimore Advertiser of the August 20, 1773.

Nov. 19, 1917 Sketch of the life of M. L. Hordister, Confederate veteran.

Dec. 11, 1917 To restore village where Lincoln lived; Old Salem, Ill., to be restored as part of centennial celebration of State.

Dec. 12, 1917 Sketch of the life of Dr. A. T. Still, father of Osteopathy.

———————— ————————, *Republican*

Sept. 7, 1917 Gen. Pershing not born in Laclede; affidavit made by Meadville, Mo., woman claiming latter place as birthplace of noted army man.

Eye witness corrects Macon County history; a Civil War incident.

When the pioneer woman's suffragist visited Macon; recollections of visit of Phoebe Cousins of St. Louis.

Sept. 14, 1917 Old time view of rural Missouri. Reprinted from St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*.

Oct. 5, 1917 A great newspaper in town of 700; writeup of Omar D. Gray's Sturgeon *Leader*, by Charles G. Ross. Reprinted from the American Magazine.

Macon firm used one insurance policy 46 years; issued in 1871 and carried 25 war stamps.

Oct. 12, 1917 In old Missouri, by Edgar White. Reprinted from *American Motorist*.

Oct. 12, 1917 One of state's hardest boosters; some incidents concerning Speaker Champ Clark.

Oct. 19, 1917 Sketch of the life of John A. Cook, president of Macon County Society.

Declares she never licked Pershing; story of boyhood life of General Pershing.

Nov. 2, 1917 Bought 37 silk hats to boost old St. Joe town; an incident of the '80's. Reprinted from St. Joseph *Gazette*.

Nov. 9, 1917 Some Missourians who have climbed; incidents which caused them to succeed, including Gen. Pershing, Jerome Thralls, Tom Wadell, Arch Reese and Charles Douglas, by Edgar White. Reprinted from *Ambition*.

Dec. 21, 1917 Macon man smacked Kaiser of Germany; an incident that happened in Berlin 50 years ago, as told by Julius A. Neidemyer.

Jan. 25, 1918 Washington tried to stop Sherman—an incident of the Civil War.

Mar. 22, 1918 How girl with two strings to bow lost—one lover was Lincoln.

Apr. 12, 1918 Sketch of "Billy" Hall of Lancaster; largest individual horse and wild animal dealer in the world.

Apr. 19, 1918 How Mark Twain edited The *Journal*. Reprinted from the Kansas City *Star*.

Madison County. Fredericktown, *Democrat-News*

Sept. 27, 1917 Some history of the Whitewater Presbyterian Church.

Oct. 25, 1917 The battle of Fredericktown, fought 56 years ago, by R. C. Amett.

———————— ————————, *Tribune*

Nov. 8, 1917 Tells Civil War story, an incident of picket duty at Sikeston, Mo.

Marion County. Palmyra, *Spectator*

Sept. 5, 1917 Recollections of Hannibal, by J. W. Ayres.
History of Little Union Church, by T. R. Smith.

Sept. 12, 1917 The old Quincy House; historic sketch of famous tavern.

Sept. 19, 1917 Recollections of slavery in Missouri, by J. W. Ayres.
A relic of the Civil War, roster of Co. K. Missouri Confederate soldiers.

Sept. 26, 1917 Who's Hoover?— a short historical sketch. Reprinted from the *Independent*.
History of the American Flag.

Oct. 3, 1917 Gen. Pershing gets even; humorous incident in life of Pershing.

Oct. 10, 1917 Romance of Mark Twain's mother, from "Mark Twain's Letters," in *Harper's Magazine*.

Oct. 17, 1917 Camp Funston; a descriptive sketch, from St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*.
Justice righted, a story of President Lincoln.

Nov. 7, 1917 Nathan Hale, a true patriot, by Georgene Faulkner.

Nov. 14, 1917 Story of a revival meeting held at Mt. Vernon Church in 1893, under heading "Reprinted Pieces."

Mercer County. Princeton, *Post*

Sept. 6, 1917 Guerrillas held up train to read about Yanks, recollections of Williams Thompson of Macon, Mo., who was train newsboy during Civil War. Reprinted from Kansas City *Star*.

Jan. 2, 1918 Sketch of the life of Joseph Shook, Mexican and Civil War (Union) veteran; see also Princeton *Telegraph* for January 2.

May 1, 1918 Sketch of the life of Joseph H. Burrows, former member of Congress. He appointed John J. Pershing to West Point. See also Princeton *Telegraph* for May 1 and 8.

May 8, 1918 Sketch of the life of Robert Bowsher, pioneer hotel man. See also Princeton *Telegraph* for May 8.

May 15, 1918 Sketch of the life of John L. Powell, pioneer farmer See also Princeton *Telegraph* for May 15.

———————— ————————, *Telegraph*

Sept. 26, 1917 Army cantonments, statistical description, by J. W. Jarnagin.

Miller County. Eldon, *Advertiser*

Dec. 6, 1917 Sketch of the life of J. F. Savage, Union veteran.

———————— Tuscumbia, Miller County *Autogram*

Nov. 8, 1917 Sketch of the life of Charles P. Meyers, Union veteran and former county official.

Mississippi County. Charleston, *Enterprise-Courier*

Apr. 25, 1918 First railroad here finished Apr. 19, 1859.

Moniteau County. California, *Democrat*

Feb. 28, 1918 Sketch of the life of C. A. Boyles, county official.

———————— ————————, *Moniteau County Herald*

Nov. 15, 1917 Sketch of the life of W. F. Quigley, lawyer, and philanthropist. See also California *Democrat* for Nov. 15 and Tipton *Times* for Nov. 16.

Nov. 22, 1917 Historical sketch of Christian Church in California.

Nov. 29, 1917 Sketch of the life of Judge J. J. Scheurer, former county official. See also California *Democrat* for Nov. 29.

May 9, 1918 Celebrate 70th anniversary; historical sketch of Salem German Evangelical Church.

Monroe County. Monroe City, *News*

Sept. 4, 1917 Sketch of the life of Rev. Thompson Penn, pioneer M. E. Minister. See also Monroe City *Democrat* for Sept. 7.

Nov. 27, 1917 Sketch of the life of John C. Piersol, pioneer citizen and former county official and representative in legislature.

Dec. 4, 1917 Sketch of the life of J. L. Lyon, in service of Burlington Railway since 1866.

Dec. 25, 1917 The passing of Van Rensselaer Academy.

Dec. 28, 1917 Historic Ft. Sill, by John L. Nolen.

Jan. 22, 1918 Sketch of the life of Wm. B. Drescher, former county official and Mexican War veteran.

———————— Paris, *Mercury*

Sept. 7, 1917 The romance of Mark Twain's mother, from "Mark Twain's Letters," in *Harper's Magazine*.

———————— ————————, *Monroe County Appeal*

May 3, 1918 Sketch of the life of Rev. Anderson Woods, pioneer preacher; died at Paris in 1841.

Montgomery County. Bellflower, *News*

May 2, 1918 Sketch of the life of H. W. Kamp, former State legislator.

———————— New Florence, *Montgomery County Leader*

Mar. 29, 1918 Sketch of the life of W. B. M. Cook, former county official.

———————— Wellsville, *Optic-News*

Feb. 8, 1918 Sketch of the life of John Shaughnessy, Union veteran.

May 10, 1918 Sketch of the life of W. E. Hays, Union veteran.
Sketch of the life of T. R. Gilliland, Union veteran.

Morgan County. Versailles, *Leader*

Sept. 28, 1917 An old record, concerning Sons of Temperance organized in Versailles in 1852.

Oct. 25, 1917 Sketch of the life of John Hodges, Union veteran.

Mar. 1, 1918 History of Versailles Baptist Church on its fiftieth anniversary.
Sketch of the life of Charles B. Howard, former county official.

———————— ————————, *Statesman*

Sept. 13, 1917 Sketch of the life of J. F. Tising, pioneer merchant and Union veteran.

Lived in Morgan County many years ago; recollections of Judge John D. Bohling.

Oct. 4, 1917 Sketch of the life of Jesse B. Jones, pioneer citizen.

Newton County. Granby, *Miner-Missourian*

Dec. 7, 1917 Sketch of the life of T. J. Denham, Union veteran.

———————— Neosho, *Times*

Nov. 8, 1917 History of the first Presbyterian Church of Neosho, by Margaret DeGroff.

June 13, 1918 Sketch of the life of Sanford E. Brown, former county official and State legislator.

Nodaway County. Burlington Junction, *Post*

Nov. 8, 1917 Sketch of the life of J. H. Lemon, Union veteran.

Mar. 21, 1918 Early days in Nodaway County.

———————— Hopkins, *Journal*

In the misty past, review of paper of August 31, 1891.

———————— Maryville, *Democrat-Forum* (weekly)

Sept. 6, 1917 Sketch of the life of Matthew Whiteford, pioneer farmer.

Sept. 13, 1917 O. H. Smith writes of incident in Mexican War in 1846.

Sept. 20, 1917 Church 50 years ago; historical facts concerning M. E. Church at Maryville.

Oct. 11, 1917 Sketch of the life of Silas Appleby, Union veteran.

Nov. 8, 1917 Sketch of the life of James H. Lemon, Union veteran and former representative in Missouri Legislature. See also Maryville *Tribune* for Nov. 2.

Nov. 22, 1917 Sketch of the life of A. T. Stinson, pioneer citizen, with some recollections of 50 years ago.

———————— ————————, *Tribune*

Oct. 9, 1917 Hopkins war veteran details long record, tales of Civil War by G. W. Greenlee, Union veteran.

Nov. 9, 1917 Missouri State Sunday School Association, some history concerning it.

Nodaway County; descriptive sketch.

Dec. 14, 1917 Sketch of the life of John H. Cunutt, Union veteran.

———————— Skidmore, *News*

Nov. 22, 1917 St. Joseph's postmasters, reminiscent of Skidmore's early days.

An early settler of Burr Oak.

Facsimile of bill advertising lot sale at Skidmore on July 29, 1880.

Mar. 28, 1918 Sketch of the life of Capt. John Grigsby, Union veteran.

Oregon County. Alton, *South Missourian-Democrat*

June 20, 1918 Sketch of the life of A. N. Wiggs, Confederate veteran and former county official.

June 27, 1918 Sketch of the life of Capt. J. A. Rice, Union veteran, former county official and representative in State legislature.

Osage County. Linn, *Osage County Republican*

Dec. 20, 1917 Some interesting historical notes pertaining to Linn in past and present.

———————— ————, *Unterrified Democrat.*

May 2, 1918 Sketch of the life of Louis Verdot, Union veteran.

May 16, 1918 County officers 49 years ago, with photographs.

Pemiscot County. Caruthersville, *Pemiscot Argus*

Sept. 20, 1917 Sketch of the life of Thomas J. G. Green, Confederate veteran.

———————— ————, *Twice-a-Week Democrat*

May 3, 1918 A little more about our own Missouri; agricultural statistics compiled by Jewell Mayes. Reprinted from *The Missouri Ruralist.*

Perry County. Perryville, *Perry County Republican*

May 23, 1918 Sketch of the life of John Dewin, Union veteran.

July 11, 1918 Sketch of the life of Charles Loberg, Union veteran.

Pettis County. Sedalia, *Capital*

Sept. 4, 1917 Lived in Morgan County many years ago; remembrances of Judge John D. Bohling.

Oct. 21, 1917 Missouri prices in 1857, reprinted from *Ashland Bugle.*

Phelps County. Rolla, *Times*

Mar. 7, 1918 Sketch of the life of Judge C. C. Bland, jurist and Union veteran; see also Rolla *Herald* for March 14.

———————— St. James, *Journal*

Oct. 5, 1917 Sketch of the life of Menzo House, Union veteran.

Pike County. Bowling Green, *Pike County Post*

Sept. 19, 1917 Pike County's fifth courthouse, with historical sketches of former ones.

Oct. 3, 1917 Sketch of the life of J. E. Huckstep, Confederate veteran. See also Bowling Green *Times* for Oct. 4.

Oct. 24, 1917 Missouri's monument, dedicated on battlefield at Vicksburg, Miss., in memory of Missourians who fell there; description. See also Bowling Green *Times* for Oct. 25.

———————— ————, *Times*

Sept. 20, 1917 Ceremonies at laying of corner stone of new courthouse.

Sept. 27, 1917 Historical sketch of Pike County's courthouses by Gov. R. A. Campbell.

Nov. 1, 1917 Champ Clark's autobiography, reprinted from *Hearst's Magazine.* See also issues for Nov. 8, 15; Dec. 13 20, 27.

Dec. 27, 1917 Gets copy of will filed 100 years ago by Edward Hemstead. Reprinted from St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and *Globe-Democrat.*

Jan. 3, 1918 Judge Dyer tells of early days, reprinted from St. Louis *Republic.*

Feb.	7, 1918	Sketch of Homer Martin, county official.
Feb.	17, 1918	Sketch of the life of E. K. Gates, former county official.
Mar.	7, 1918	The Price family in Pike County.
Mar.	21, 1918	Sketch of the life of Col. John A. Ely, Confederate veteran; served under Gen. Sterling Price.
Apr.	4, 1918	Reminiscences of 1820.
Apr.	11, 1918	History of Pike County, continued in issues of Apr. 18th and 25th.
May	2, 1918	History of Pike County, by I. Walter Basye; reprinted from History of Northeast Missouri. Continued in succeeding issues of May 9 and 16.
May	23, 1918	Early inscriptions in Bowling Green cemetery.
May	30, 1918	Buffalo Fort and other nearby forts in Missouri.
June	6, 1918	Pioneer life in Missouri, reprinted from Missourians 100 Years Ago, by Walter B. Stevens.
June	13, 1918	More about early forts.
June	20, 1918	Some early history of Pike and Montgomery Counties.
July	4, 1918	Early days in Missouri; continued in issue of July 18.
July	11, 1918	Interesting reminiscences of 60 years ago.
July	25, 1918	A history of the Pike County circuit Court.

——————— Clarksville, *Banner-Sentinel*

Sept.	19, 1917	Laying of corner stone of courthouse.
Oct.	31, 1917	History of Graves road, Clarksville to Prairieville and Paynesville.
Nov.	7, 1917	Sketch of the life of R. H. Carver, pioneer citizen.
July	10, 1918	Sketch of the life of John Mathew, Confederate veteran.

——————— Louisiana, *Press-Journal*

Sept.	20, 1917	Pike's historians; reminiscences of Gov. Campbell at laying of court house corner stone.
Oct.	25, 1917	Old Abe, the war eagle; story of mascot of Eighth Wisconsin Civil War regiment.
Mar.	21, 1918	Sketch of the life of R. H. Norton, Congressman. Reprinted from St. Louis *Republic*.

Platte County. Camden Point, *Platte County News*

Jan.	4, 1918	Ten years since the Bank of Camden Point was robbed—a review of the event.
Jan.	18, 1918	Sketch of the life of Henry Clay Bell, a Platte County pioneer.
Jan.	25, 1918	Many marked changes—reminiscences of Mrs. Ann Elizabeth Styne, one of Platte County's pioneers.
Feb.	1, 1918	Came to Missouri by boat—Reminiscences of Mrs. Mary Ellen Anderson, for 64 years a resident of Platte County.
Feb.	8, 1918	Reminiscences of James L. Duncan, resident of Platte County for 70 years.
Feb.	15, 1918	Was born in Platte County, reminiscences of William R. Lasswell.
Feb.	22, 1918	Another Kentucky Son—reminiscences of John A. Montgomery.
Mar.	1, 1918	Reminiscences of Thomas Fairhurst.
Mar.	8, 1918	Reminiscences of Mrs. Martha Carson.
Mar.	15, 1918	Reminiscences of Mrs. Sophia Brashear.
Mar.	22, 1918	A Nine Week's Trip; reminiscences of Jesse P. Settle.

———————— Dearborn, *Democrat*.

Oct. 11, 1917 Sketch of the life of Benton Grabbert, pioneer citizen.
Dec. 20, 1917 Sketch of the life of Lewis Shortridge, pioneer citizen.
Apr. 4, 1918 Dearborn reviewed, sketches of business firms.

———————— Parkville, *Platte County Gazette*

Jan. 10, 1918 Sketch of the life of Dr. F. B. Tiffany, pioneer physician and founder of University Medical College at Kansas City.
Mar. 7, 1918 Review of early days in Parkville with glimpse of Col. George S. Park, founder.

———————— Platte City, *Platte County Argus*

Sept. 13, 1917 Civil War time prices, from an authentic price list by Burnham-Munger-Root D. G. Co

Polk County. Bolivar, *Free-Press*

1917 Sketch of the life of G. I. Whittaker Union veteran.
Feb. 7, 1918 Sketch of the life of David Holton, Union veteran.
Feb. 28, 1918 Historical sketch of Polk County and town of Bolivar; see also Bolivar *Herald* for Feb. 28 and later issues of both papers.
Mar. 21, 1918 Sketch of the life of C. J. Rhyness Union veteran.
Apr. 11, 1918 Some local Masonic history.
June 20, 1918 A Missouri vendetta; history of the famous "Slicker War" in the Ozarks.

———————— ————————, *Hearld*

Jan. 10, 1918 Sketch of the life of D. P. Brocks, Union veteran.

Putnam County. Unionville, *Putnam County Journ*

July 5, 1918 Sketch of the life of Jefferson Dris, Union veteran.

Ralls County. New London, *Ralls County Record*

July 19, 1918 Sketch of the life of Capt. Thompson Alford, Confederate veteran, with description of a trip to California in '49. See also the Perry *Enterprise* for July 11.

———————— Perry, *Enterprise*

May 9, 1918 Reminiscences; W. R. Pope's recollections of Paris, Missouri, 75 years ago. Description of pioneer life and people; continued issues of May 16, 23, 30; June 13, 20, 27; July 4, 18 and 25.

Randolph County. Huntsville, *Herald*

Sept. 28, 1917 Sketch of the life of Judge A. F. Gill, former county official.
Oct. 5, 1917 Recalls Mt. Pleasant College; historical sketch.
Feb. 15, 1918 Sketch of the life of James W. Terrill, Confederate veteran and president Mt. Pleasant College.

Ray County. Hardin, *News*

Dec. 27, 1917 Sketch of the life of W. Merrell, Union veteran.

———— Lawson, *Review*
Nov. 1, 1917 The Gant family; historical sketch, by Robert J. Clark. See also issues of Nov. 8, Scott, Gayland and Ross families; Nov. 15, Zimmerman family; Dec. 6, Meyer family; Dec. 13, Murray family; Dec. 27, Coffman family.
Feb. 21, 1918 Sketch of the life of J. K. Pollett, Union veteran.

———— Richmond, *Conservator*.
Sept. 27, 1917 City of Richmond 90 years old; historical data.
Feb. 21, 1918 Sketch of the life of John P. Bedwell, Union veteran.

————, *Missourian*
Sept. 27, 1917 Sketch of the life of L. M. Patterson, Confederate veteran.
Lathrop, biggest horse town in the world, by Jewell Mayes.
Oct. 4, 1917 Lieut-Col. Hubbell's diary, chapter 6, from a Civil War diary. See also issue of Oct. 11.
Nov. 1, 1917 A hundred years of canning, by Jewell Mayes.
Dec. 6, 1917 Sketch of the life of J. A. Maddux, pioneer citizen.
Dec. 13, 1917 Doniphan statute erected, with historical sketch.
Jan. 3, 1918 Camp Doniphan and the General.
Jan. 24, 1918 Did white have a ghost—a Civil War incident.
July 25, 1918 Sketch of Col. Doniphan and description of the monument at Richmond.

St. Charles County. St. Charles, *Cosmos-Monitor*
Jan. 30, 1918 Page of old newspaper found—St. Louis Reveille for August 24, 1844.

St. Clair County. Appleton City, *Journal*
July 11, 1918 Sketch of the life of Tyler D. Thayer, Union veteran.

———— Lowry City, *Independent*.

Oct 18, 1917 Sketch of the life of Jefferson Chase, Union veteran.

———— Osceola, *St. Clair County Democrat*
Sept. 11, 1917 Reminiscences of early St. Clair County, by B. F. Lawler.
Dec. 27, 1917 Sketch of the life of Dr. R. S. Phillips, Confederate veteran.

St. Francois County. Bonne Terre, *Register*
May 17, 1918 Seventy years ago and now; a short review of the growth of the country.

————, *Star*
Mar. 29, 1918 Early Methodist History in Bonne Terre.

———— Farmington, *Times*
Feb. 1, 1918 Prices in Civil War Period.

———— Flat River, *Lead Belt News*
July 26, 1918 Sketch of the life of Charles Loberg, Union veteran.

Ste. Genevieve County. Ste. Genevieve *Herald*

Jan. 5, 1918 Sketch of the life of Wm. H. Bants, Union veteran.

St. Louis City. Carondelet, *News*

May 10, 1918 Drafted men to be trained at historic barracks; a short historical sketch of Jefferson Barracks.

——————— *Church Progress.*

Nov. 8, 1917 Hundredth anniversary of Bishop Du Bourg's coming to St. Louis; historical sketch by Rev. John Rothensteiner. Continued in issues of Nov. 20; Dec. 6' 13, 20.

Dec. 27, 1917 A New Year's day in the olden time in St. Louis; a paper written fifty years ago by Judge Wilson Primm.

——————— *Globe-Democrat.*

Sept. 1, 1917 Historical sketch of Immaculate Conception Church, Maxville, founded in 1842.

Sept. 9, 1917 In the days of the stage coach—some historic Missouri taverns.

Oct. 14, 1917 Capt. James Mackay, Capt. John Long and John Sappington, Missouri pioneers whose names are inscribed in Missouri's "Hall of Fame."

Oct. 19, 1917 Historical sketch of Ivanhoe Commandery, No. 8, Knights Templar, St. Louis, upon fiftieth anniversary.

Nov. 4, 1917 St. Louis goes back to days of market basket, with sketches of old city markets since 1812.

Nov. 10, 1917 First Presbyterian Church celebrates centennial, with historical sketch of first Presbyterian congregation organized west of the Mississippi.

Nov. 18, 1917 New Missouri statehouse is unique among capitols; interesting facts about new capitol.

Dec. 2, 1917 Early trials of Mark Twain revealed in old letters; interesting stories of Twain's early manhood.

Jan. 6, 1918 Work for a St. Louis cathedral started 100 years ago, history of Catholic Church in St. Louis.

Jan. 13, 1918 Tony Faust brought first electric lights to St. Louis; tales of St. Louis forty years ago.

Feb. 15, 1918 Southern Hotel, once most famous in world; a historical sketch.

Mar. 2, 1918 Sketch of the life of Rev. John A. Tracy, Union veteran.

Mar. 10, 1918 Passing of old-type country doctor and his shay.

Mar. 24, 1918 Great St. Louis arsenal of early days being rejuvenated.

Apr. 28, 1918 Teaching German in St. Louis—how the language was barred from the grammar schools in 1888.

May 6, 1918 Sir Frederick Smith describes his second trip to Missouri and interesting meeting at University.

May 19, 1918 Making soldiers comfortable at great recruiting gateway; how St. Louis cares for them.

July 7, 1918 Sketch of Senator Xenophon P. Wilfley.

July 28, 1918 Sketch of Col. Jay L. Torrey, rough rider and extensive rancher.

——————— *Jewish Voice*

Sept. 7, 1917 A chapter from the history of the Jews in St. Louis, by M. Spitz, continued from previous issues. See also issue of Sept. 14.

———— *Post-Dispatch*

Sept. 16, 1917 Edward R. Stettinius, St. Louis man who, as representative of Morgan banking house, was made fiscal agent in the purchase of all war supplies for French and British Governments.

Sept. 24, 1917 Recollections of St. Louis in 1861, by Brigadier General Dennis T. Kirby, former Missourian breveted for gallantry at Vicksburg.

Oct. 3, 1917 When both Missouri senators were expelled by vote of United States Senate at opening of Civil War, by Sterling E. Edmunds.

Oct. 7, 1917 When Bishop Du Bourg arrived in St. Louis, January 5, 1818.

Oct. 19, 1917 When the region about St. Louis formed a part of great pre-historic sea. Some facts concerning geological history of Missouri.

Oct. 28, 1917 The Grant-Dent House, one of the historic spots in St. Louis, where General U. S. Grant courted and wed Miss Julia B. Dent.

Dec. 9, 1917 Some gems from a collection of letters written by Mark Twain.

Jan. 6, 1918 A little visit with "Becky Thatcher", Mark Twain's first sweetheart—recollections of noted humorist by Mrs. Laura Frazer, Hannibal, Missouri.

Missouri's first centennial to be observed Tuesday, account of Columbia meeting.

Celebration of centennial at old cathedral; account of Catholic centennial, with historical data.

Jan. 7, 1918 St. Louis to Louisville in 60 hours in 1839, old poster regarding stage coach service in old days.

Jan. 13, 1918 What some of St. Louis' and the country's biggest men were doing 25 years ago.

Feb. 3, 1918 St. Louis landmarks which have passed; Conde House, 1790; McDonell Medical College, 1847.

Feb. 4, 1918 Street car strike in 1900 lasted four months, a review of strike of that date.

Feb. 10, 1918 Lon V. Stephens writes of St. Louis street car strike of 1900.

Mar. 12, 1918 Sketch of the life of W. S. Chaplin, former chaplin of Washington University.

Mar. 17, 1918 Former Missourian tells of his three years of air fighting on three fronts—experiences of Lieut. Bert Hall, born in Bowling Green, Nov. 7, 1880.

Apr. 10, 1918 Missouri pioneer tablet of 112 names unveiled by Daughters of 1812. See also St. Louis *Star* for April 11th and St. Louis *Republic* for April 10th.

Apr. 28, 1918 Has painted a picture a month for 50 years; sketch of Matthew Hastings, artist who has lived in St. Louis 78 years.

Apr. 30, 1918 Sketch of the life of Xenophon P. Wilfley, newly appointed U. S. Senator.

June 12, 1918 General Pershing as his personal orderly for 10 years knows him.

June 30, 1918 St. Louisian head of most important naval job in Washington; sketch of Rear Admiral Leigh C. Palmer.

———————— *Reedy's Mirror*

Apr. 19, 1918 The late Senator Stone.
The case of Mr. Creel.

———————— *Republic*

Nov. 11, 1917 Republican press, first in state, printed flag for commander of Missouri's troops in 1837; a historical sketch of the Gentry family and the part played by old Missouri Republican in the life of Richard Gentry.

Dec. 23, 1917 Judge Dyer tells of early days in Missouri, with stories of great men he has known in business and politics. Selects James S. Rollins, father of State University, as state's greatest son.

Mar. 13, 1918 Missouri Confederate Home, a description and historical sketch, by Major Harvey W. Salmon.

Apr. 7, 1918 Bronze tablet "Roll of Fame" will link Missourians of the past to those of the present; history of Missouri's famous citizens on bronze tablet in Forest Park, compiled by Missouri Society of the Daughters of 1812.

Apr. 15, 1918 Sketch of the life of William Joel Stone, former Governor of Missouri and United States Representative and Senator from Missouri. See other Missouri dailies for April 15th.

July 22, 1918 Review of History of Missouri by Prof. Eugene M. Violette.

July 24, 1918 $10,000 statue of Col. A. M. Doniphan, Missouri's famous son, will be unveiled at Richmond next Monday—with short sketch of great soldier.

July 29, 1918 Review of Boone Stop, by Homer Croy.

St. Louis County. Clayton, *Argus*

July 5, 1918 Sketch of the life of H. P. Wolff, Union veteran.

———————— ————————, *Watchman-Advocate*

Feb. 1, 1918 Sketch of the life of E. L. Dosenbach, Union veteran.

July 26, 1918 Sketch of the life of William L. Thomas, veteran newspaper man and author of History of St. Louis County.

———————— Webster Groves, *News-Times*

July 19, 1918 Sketch of the life of John M. Taylor, pioneer banker and business man.

Saline County. Marshall, *Democrat-News*

Jan. 17, 1918 Sketch of the life of Col. J. T. Price, Union veteran.

Mar. 14, 1918 A historic filed glass, civil war happenings.

June 6, 1918 Sketch of the life of Callaway F. Odell, pioneer citizen and former county official.

———————— Slater, *News*

Nov. 1, 1917 Historic relics of sixty and more years ago, collected by R. P. Leach of Springfield.

———————— Sweet Springs, *Herald*

Dec. 7, 1917 Sketch of the life of Mason G. Brown, pioneer citizen.

Jan. 4, 1917 Sketch of the life of W. M. Vickrey, Union veteran.

Jan. 18, 1917 Sketch of the life of G. W. Lindsey, Confederate veteran.

Schuyler County. Lancaster, *Excelsior*
Nov. 15, 1917 John J. Pershing, biographical sketch by Edgar White.

Scotland County. Memphis, *Reveille*
June 6, 1918 Sketch of the life of Perry Deen, Union veteran.
July 18, 1918 Lewis Myers tells of slavery days.

Scott County. Sikeston, *Standard*
Mar. 26, 1918 Sketch of the life of F. G. Allen, former county and state official.

Shelby County. Shelbina, *Democrat*
Feb. 13, 1918 Letter written 105 years ago containing impressions of Kentucky and of current commodity prices.
May 22, 1918 Early days in Northeast Missouri; repritned from the Perry *Enterprise*. See also issues of June 19, July 3 and 10.

———— ————, *Torchlight*
May 24, 1918 A Senate vacancy; occasion of 1855.

Stoddard County. Bernie, *Star-News*
Nov. 2, 1917 Sketch of the life of W. H. Johnson, Confederate veteran.

Stone County. Crane, *Chronicle*
Oct. 4, 1917 Sketch of the life of John B. Hudson, Union veteran.
Nov. 29, 1917 W. E. McDowell writes of pioneer tools.

———— Galena, *Stone County News-Oracle*
Mar. 27, 1918 From 1861 to 1865—Civil War incidents.

Sullivan County. Green City, *Press*
Mar. 14, 1918 Sketch of the life of J. E. Davis, Union veteran.
July 11, 1918 New Presbyterian Church dedicated; with short sketch of denomination in Green City.

———— Milan, *Standard*
May 16, 1918 Golden jubilee of first mass offered in Sullivan County; with sketch of Catholic Church in Milan since 1868.

Taney County. Forsyth, *Taney County Republican*
June 6, 1918 History of Forsyth High School.
Sketch of the life of W. B. Hicks, Union veteran.

Texas County. Houston, *Herald*
May 30, 1918 Sketch of the life of W. R. William, Union veteran.

Vernon County. Sheldon, *Enterprise*
May 31, 1918 Sketch of the life of R. H. Thomas, Confederate veteran.

Warren County. Warrenton, *Banner*
Apr. 5, 1918 Sketch of the life of Frederick Jaspering, Union veteran.
July 12, 1918 Sketch of the life of Otto Ahmann, Union veteran.

Wayne County. Piedmont, *Banner*
1917 Sketch of the life of John Hunt, Confederate.

Webster County. Marshfield, *Mail*

Apr. 4, 1918 Sketch of the life of W. A. Turner, Confederate veteran.

Worth County. Grant City, *Tribune*

Oct. 17, 1917 Sketch of the life of Benjamin Prugh, pioneer merchant who went into business in Grant City in 1868. See also Grant City *Star* for Oct. 19.

———— ————, *Worth County Times*

Dec. 27, 1917 Sketch of the life of Judge G. F. Bram, Union veteran and former county official.

Wright County. Hartville, *Democrat*

Mar. 7, 1918 Sketch of the life of A. J. Summers, Confederate veteran and former editor of the Bethany *Democrat* and the Hartville *Democrat*; see also Hartville *Wright County Republican* for March 14.

June 20, 1918 Sketch of the life of L. W. Simmons, Union veteran.

———— Mountain Grove, *Journal*

Feb. 14, 1918 Sketch of the life of Rev. W. W. Ramsey, pioneer minister and Union veteran.

———— Mansfield, *Mirror*

Mar. 7, 1918 Mansfield—Gem City of the Ozarks; industrial edition of the Mirror.